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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE

APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.

37366

BY

WILLEM LODEWYK VAN ESS.

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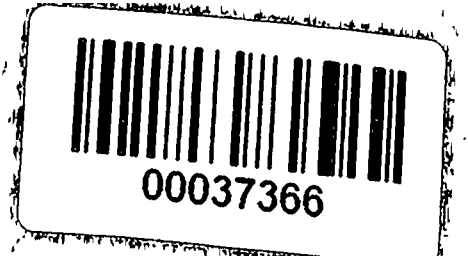

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Buonaparté continues the Siege of Acre....Various Operations of the Besiegers and Besieged.

BUONAPARTE now being informed that Admiral Perree was before Jaffa, and that he had landed three 24, and six 18-pounders, with a quantity of ammunition; he gave orders that Admiral Gantheaume should cruise withthe frigates between the coasts of Syria and Cyprus, in order to seize on the vessels which were conveying supplies of ammunition and provisions to Acre. Some Arabs, posted in the environs of Mount Carmel, at the desire of Sir S. Smith and the Pacha, interrupted the communications of the French army. General Le Turq was sent, with a corps of 300 men, in order to disperse them; he surprised their camp, killed 61, and brought away 800 head of cattle, which were of great service to the army. But still Buonaparté had effected no part of his object, and was further from its attainment than on his first arrival, for the British Commodore had caused such formidable works to be erected, that all further attempts were useless, and only served to shew the General's disregard of human life. At the end of one month after the trenches had been opened before the town, the only ad-

vantage that Buonaparté had gained, was, that his army had killed Major Oldfield, Captain Wilmot, and Colonel Phillipeau, three of the most able officers in the English army, with an immense number of persons of less consequence, in the numerous sorties that were made from the garrison. The ships and boats in the port continued to annoy his camp incessantly, and it became necessary, in the opinion of Buonaparté, that decisive measures should still be hazarded.

On the 25th of April, a mine intended to blow up the tower, near the breach, was completed, and the batteries were opened upon the place. The mine was set fire to, but a subterraneous passage under the tower presenting a line that weakened the resistance, the mine blew up but on one side of the tower, and the breach remained in such a state as to be difficult of access as before. Buonaparté ordered 30 grenadiers to get into the tower, and reconnoitre its means of communication with the rest of the fortress; they advanced as far as the ruins under the arch of the upper story, but the Allies, who kept up a communication by means of the narrow vaulted passages, and who were in possession of the ruins of the upper arches, showered down such quantities of burning materials upon them, that those who were not entirely disabled hastily retreated.

On the 25th, in the evening, an attempt was made to effect a lodgment in the first story, and workmen were employed several hours for the purpose of rendering it more practicable: but the Turks allowed them to approach the breach only to get them within their power; they threw down burning materials upon them, and compelled them again to retire from the tower.

The British, in order to defend their front of attack, of which almost all the cannon were dismounted, ran out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's approach, which was worked by the English marines, under a constant cannonade from the French; batteries were also formed,

which advantageously flanked the tower and the breach. The English and the Turks laboured at these works without cessation, and every step was taken to increase the effect of the fire from the flanking batteries, and to prepare for a counter attack against the trenches of the besiegers. Under cover of the fire from the towers and elevated walls, they formed their outworks with a degree of facility; and it was evidently impossible for the French to make any impression without a far superior artillery, and a greater quantity of ammunition than they were provided with: several times did they carry these works, but were always driven from them.

On the 1st of May four 18-pounders were directed against the tower, for the purpose of widening the breach; in the evening 20 grenadiers were ordered to effect a lodgment in the tower, and, in some measure, succeeded; but they were exposed to a cross fire of the marines in the fosse, and, feeling the impossibility of passing through the tower, desisted from the attempt. At the moment the grenadiers were mounting the breach at the tower the besieged made a strong sortie from their right; they were charged by two companies of grenadiers with such impetuosity and effect, that all those who could not retire under the protection of the fire from the gun-boats, were cut off or driven into the sea.

Buonaparté gave orders that a second breach should be made in the curtain of the fortifications to the Eastward: a sapping against the fosses, and the formation of a mine, in order to blow up the counterscarp, were also ordered. Until the 4th of May the works and operations of the besiegers and the besieged were carried on with great ardour and activity; when the ammunition of the French began to fail, and Buonaparté ordered the fire to be slackened. Perceiving this, the besieged carried on their sapping with greater activity than ever, particularly that on the right, the object of which was to prevent the

French sapping from communicating with the new mine. At ten o'clock at night, some companies of grenadiers began to storm the out-works; the Turkish advanced guard was surprised, many of them put to the sword, the works taken possession of, and three of the guns spiked; but the fire of the place, to which these works were completely exposed, prevented the French remaining long enough to destroy them, and they were re-entered by their former possessors. The main object of the besieged was to counteract the mine, which was intended for blowing up the counterscarp that had been formed in front of the new breach in the curtain, and at this they laboured with the greatest activity. In the morning of the 6th they made extraordinary exertions for the purpose, but not succeeding to their wishes, they immediately determined to cut through their counterscarp, as near as possible to the mine; at three o'clock the French perceived that they were opening, by a covert sapping, the mask of the mine; Buonaparté cannonaded them, but the mischief was done; the mine was completely counterworked, a vent opened, and the framing destroyed.

The old breach at the tower now appeared the only point against which he could direct his attacks with any prospect of success. Buonaparté, therefore, issued orders, that, in the night between the 6th and 7th, the troops should possess themselves of the outworks, which were erected for flanking the breach, and particularly that which crowned the glacis, near the first mine; that the attack should be made as expeditiously as possible: and that all those who occupied the works should be put to the sword, and a lodgment therein secured. These orders were partly effected by the riflemen of the 87th, and a body of grenadiers, who gained possession of the works, except those which crowned the glacis, near the old mine, and flanked the tower; they were, however, checked by the terrible fire from the town, which rendered all

these desperate efforts unavailing, and compelled the goaded soldiers, once more, to retire with great loss.

On the 7th of May 30 sail of Turkish ships arrived at Acre, from the Island of Rhodes, laden with stores and provisions for the besieged, and brought, besides, a considerable reinforcement of troops; they were under convoy of a caraval and several armed corvettes, commanded by Hassan Bey. Buonaparté discovered this fleet as soon as it hove in sight; and, anxious that some decisive operation should take place before the arrival of the succours, gave orders that a renewal of the attack should take place during the night. At ten o'clock the fire of the besiegers was increased tenfold, the ravelins, the work upon the glacis, and the tower upon the breach, were all carried, and a lodgment made in the tower. The 18th and 32d demi-brigades filled up the newly constructed works with the bodies of their slain; they spiked a number of cannon; and neither suffered the determined resistance of the Anglo-Turks, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries, to retard their progress Never, on any occasion, was more valour or intrepidity displayed than upon this occasion. Generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, were at the head of the demi-brigades, and afforded the most striking examples of active courage, combined with cool determination. Boyer, chief of the 18th, was killed in this attack; and 150 of those intrepid fellows, 17 of them officers, were killed and wounded.

The flanking fire from the shipping was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the French had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were, a French brass 18-pounder in the Lighthouse Castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's-mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the North ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman: these guns being within grape dis-

tance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution, and were highly creditable to the two officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merited the warmest praise. Two 68-pound carronades, belonging to the Tigre, were mounted in two germes lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of that ship, threw shells into the centre of the French column, and checked it considerably. Still, however, they gained ground, and Generals Lasnes and Rombaud, with 200 men, made a lodgment in the second story of the North-east tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and the flanking fire was become of less effect; the French having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch (which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night) and which were composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them; their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though, as yet, but half-way to shore: this was the most critical point of the contest for the English and Turkish commaders, and their utmost exertions were necessary to preserve the place till the boats could arrive. Accordingly, Sir Sidney Smith landed his boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, was not to be described. Many fugitives were encouraged to return to the breach, which was yet defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the

slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. Dgezzar Pacha hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands, and, coming behind them, pulled them down with violence; saying, "If any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost." This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being, consequently, enough to defend the breach, Sir Sidney Smith gave directions to the colonel, Solomon Aga, to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself, by shifting the parapet outwards. The gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town, with loss. Mr. Bray, however, protected the town-gate efficaciously, with grape, from the 68-pounders. The sortie obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that the flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, and the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by a few hand-grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the Southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aid-du-camps which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dispersed, now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparté was distinguishable in the center of a semicircle; his gesticulations indicated a renewal of the attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the

camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. Sir Sidney made his arrangements accordingly, and gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their stations in the shoal water to the Southward, and the Tigre received orders to weigh, and join the Theseus to the Northward. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay head-less corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and General Lasne, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off, wounded by a musket shot. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the French, it having been impossible, nay, impolitic, to give previous information to everybody of the mode of defence adopted, lest the French should come to a knowledge of it, by means of their numerous emissaries. The French now imagined that their work was done, and pressed forward with additional courage, and they were greatly favoured by the difficulty that the Turks found in distinguishing their friends from their enemies. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison, wherever it appeared, was now mistaken for French; the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by the English officers, among which Colonel Douglass, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives; the mistake was corrected by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter, who had just arrived with

Hassan Bey. The breach being perfectly practicable for 50 men a-breast, nothing but the most determined courage could resist the impetuosity of the French troops; a close combat ensued, and man to man fought with the greatest fury. General Rombaud was killed, and Buonaparté saw that his troops were likely to suffer so much by continuing the contest, that he gave them orders to retreat.

On returning to their camp, the French learned, through Admiral Gantheaume, that Admiral Perree, while cruising before Jaffa, had taken two vessels, that had separated from the Turkish fleet; on board these were found six pieces of field artillery, a considerable quantity of harnesses, and provisions; 150,000 livres in specie, 400 soldiers, and the Commissary of the Turkish fleet. On the person of this officer was found a statement of the number of troops embarked in the fleet, and of the quantity of warlike stores and provisions; and the French understoood from him, that the fleet made part of an armament for an intended expedition against Alexandria, combined with one which Dgezzar had undertaken by land; but, that on receiving the intelligence of the unforeseen attack upon St. John d'Acre, they had dispatched the fleet, together with the troops, the utmost force they could then collect, to the relief of that place. This change in their destination took place at the pressing request of Sir Sidney Smith.

During the day and night of the 9th of May, the French batteries continued to fire; the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, Buonaparté closely viewed the breach, and gave orders for a new assault. The riflemen of the different divisions, the grenadiers of the 15th and 19th, and the carbineers of the 2nd light infantry, mounted the breach; they surprised the out posts, and put those found therein to the sword; but their progress was stopped by some newly formed intrenchments, which they were utterly unable to force; they were, therefore, obliged to retreat in confusion. The firing from the

batteries continued the whole day; at four in the afternoon the grenadiers of the 25th demi-brigade solicited from Buonaparté the honour of being permitted to begin the assault, their request was granted: they rushed forward, but the Anglo-Turkish troops had formed a second and a third line of defence, to force which required an entire new disposition; the troops, therefore, were again ordered to retreat. The three last assaults cost the army about 200 killed, and 500 wounded; among the latter was General Bon, who afterwards died of his wounds. The Adjutant-general Fouler, Vènoux, chief of the 25th, and the assistants to the adjutant-generals, Pinault and Gerbault, and Citizen Croisier, aid-de-camp to the General-in-Chief, were also mortally wounded. Citizen Arrighy, aid-de-camp to General Berthier, and the assistants to the adjutants-generals, Netherwood and Monpatris, were severely wounded. The rear of the parallels, and the whole space between the two armies, was covered with dead bodies, the stench of which became intolerable, and obliged the French to desist for a time, from any further operation.

THE END OF CHAP. I.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the Siege of Acre....Proclamation of the Porte, by Sir Sidney Smith, to the French Army....Buonaparté raises the Siege of Acre. His Proclamation to his Army....Sir Sidney Smith's important Dispatches on the Siege being raised.

BUONAPARTE now wrote to the Pacha to desire a truce, for the purpose of enabling both sides to bury their dead, and demanded an exchange of prisoners; but, as he made no mention of the English Commander, Dgezzar paid Sir Sidney Smith the compliment of leaving the answer entirely to him. No answer was sent to the proposal till the 17th, six days after it had been received; and the bearer of the dispatch carried with him the following

PROCLAMATION.

The Minister of the SUBLIME PORTE *to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, of the French Army in Egypt.*

"THE French Directory, entirely forgetting the rights of nations, has led you into an error, beguiled your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, persuading you that it could consent to the invasion of its territories.

"Can you doubt, that, in thus sending you to a distant region, its sole end has been to exile you from France, to plunge you into an abyss of dangers, and to consign you to destruction? If, under a total ignorance of your situation, you have entered the land of Egypt; if you have served as the instruments of a violation of treaties, hitherto unknown among powers, is it not soley through the perfidy of your Directors? Yes, without doubt. Egypt, however, must be delivered from an invasion so iniquitous. Innumerable armies, for that purpose, are this moment on their march, and immense fleets already cover the seas.

"Those among you, of whatever rank, who wish to withdraw from the perils that await you, must, without delay, manifest your

intentions to the commanders of the marine and land forces, of the Allied Powers; and you may rest assured of being conducted to those places, to which you are desirous of proceeding, and that you shall be furnished with passports, in order that you may not be molested on your route by the cruisers, or squadrons of the Allied Powers. Hasten, therefore, in time, to take advantage of the benign intentions of the Sublime Porte, and regard this, as a propitious offer of extricating yourselves from the frightful abyss into which you have been plunged.

"*Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, the year of Hegira* 1213, *(February 5th*, 1799.")

"I, THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of England, at the Ottoman Porte, at present commanding the combined fleet, before Acre, certify the authenticity of this Proclamation, and guarantee the execution of it.

(Signed) "SIDNEY SMITH."

"*On board the Tigre*, 10*th of May*, 1799."

This Proclamation gave great offence, as well as an expression in the answer to the proposals, "Does he not know," asked Sir Sidney, "that it is for me to dispose of the ground that lies under my artillery?"—The firing continued on both sides.

About this period, Buonaparté received intelligence of various insurrections in Egypt, which appeared to be connected with a general system of external attack meditated against the French in Egypt. At Cairo, and in the other principal towns, the public tranquility was not disturbed in the smallest degree; but in the provinces of Benishef, Charkie, and Bahere, it was with very great difficulty that these disturbances were quelled, notwithstanding all the activity of the French troops and generals. The most alarming news, however, was, that an English frigate had approached Suez, whence it was to be feared that a force might be landed in that quarter, which would place the army between two fires: and it appeared no longer to be a matter of choice whether the siege should be raised, and the army take the only chance remaining of saving itself. Two months had nearly elapsed, and the undertaking seemed more difficult than ever; indeed,

Buonaparté now only waited under the walls till he could find an excuse for abandoning his enterprise; doubtless, he trusted to his ingenuity to help him out, and he availed himself of the interval to call in his outposts, and to send forward his sick and wounded; at length, when he thought he could tell a good story to the army, he announced his determination to return to Egypt, in the following

PROCLAMATION.

At Head Quarters, before Acre, the 28th Floreal, (17th May) an. 7, (1799.)

Buonaparte, General in Chief.

"Soldiers

"You have traversed the desart which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force!

"The army, which was on its march to invade Egypt, is destroyed; you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage, you have taken all the fortified ports which secure the wells of the Desart, and you have dispersed, in the districts of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

"The thirty ships, which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria; have been compelled to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

"Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war, during three months, in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, six thousand prisoners, and rased or destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and of Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

"A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

"Soldiers!—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the Eastward this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the West. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, engaged in so many en-

counters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistable impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May, at nine in the evening, the *generale* was beat, and the siege, which lasted 60 days, after the opening of the trenches, was raised; but as the conclusion of the struggle has been so ably stated by the British Commander, it would be doing injustice to our History to suppress his own Dispatch.

Tigre, at anchor off Jaffa, May 30, 1799.

"My Lord,

"The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested, in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate, of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the *massacre* of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, *three* days after their capture: and the Plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparté's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th of May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th instant, are as follows:

"Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the Sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time,

a copy of Buonaparté's impious Proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments; accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian Knight and that of an unprincipled Renegado. This letter had all the effect I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring me, that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparté's career farther Northward effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent Eastward, towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division, in succession, had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had, by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed, in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparté came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

"The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night; Soliman Aga, the Lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they

lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparté's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving everything in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After the failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more, over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions sacrificed, in former attacks, by Buonaparté's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that, even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time: however the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me, in the town, having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law, of honour and of war: A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us, on both sides. Many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection; it was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should, consequently, be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells, on a sudden, announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to

the eternal disgrace of the General who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from thence I sent him back to the General, with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant.

"I have said above, that the battering train of artillery, (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders originally conveyed by land, with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coast wise, together with the worst among the 2,000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected; I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered strait to his Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where, they will receive such further aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power, to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execration on the name of their General, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed

by them, and it thus recoiled on its author: the intention of it was evidently, to do away the effect which the Proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them, when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his Aid-de-camp, Mr. Laliemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army, was consequently, increased to the highest pitch.

"The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army on its march along the beach, and the Arabs harrassed its rear when it turned inland, to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the sand-hills, from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparté's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, re-hoisted on the Counsul's house (under which the Pacha met me) serves as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they had

massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harrass the French rear; and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on the exertions, of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by Lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much lamented friend and coadjutor, Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Right Hon. Lord NELSON, *Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c.*

CHAPTER III.

The Expedition of Desaix into Upper Egypt....He fortifies himself at Cosseir....Buonaparté arrives at Cairo, after burning the Villages, and laying waste the Country on his March....A Turkish Force lands at Aboukir....A dreadful Battle fought there, and the Turks are defeated....The death of Tippoo Saib in India....Buonaparté conceives the Expedition to Egypt to have foiled.

ALL the marches of the French armies were attended with circumstances so nearly alike, that a journal of their whole proceedings is at once tautologous and tedious. To the excursion of Desaix in Upper Egypt, the remark is particularly applicable; and of that, as well as the rest, the general description is, that they captured village after village, and town after town; that they laid the people everywhere under requisitions, and levied their taxes at the point of the bayonet; that, in order to repress the murmurings of the people, it was, occasionally, found necessary to reduce their towns to ashes, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, by way of example! that they were frequently obstructed by armies of Arabs, Mamelukes, and Fillahs; and that they pressed through all their difficulties, by killing here one hundred, there five hundred, and at another place, eight hundred, or a thousand! In this manner, the army of Desaix proceeded from the landing at Alexandria, on the 2nd of July, 1798, until the 29th of May, 1799, when he arrived at Cosseir, on the coast of the Red Sea: here the marauding army first saw the limit that justice had prepared for its murderous jaunt. An English force appeared before the port, and it was evident that more serious preparations were now required than had been found sufficient to scatter a few wandering tribes. The English ships had been dispatch-

ed from the East Indies, and were the same that had already appeared off Suez. Desaix endeavoured to fortify himself at Cosseir, and dispatched intelligence of his precarious situation to Cairo.

Before this news reached the capital, Buonaparté had arrived there from Syria, his march had spread desolation on every side, and entailed upon him, and his companions, the curses of every city, town, and habitation, from the ocean to the Desart. He reached Cairo on the 14th of June, and the Journal of his operations will read best in General Berthier's own words: "The inhabitants of the country had been guilty of all sorts of excesses; the general order given to the columns was, to burn the villages as they proceeded, and lay waste the adjacent country. The cavalry proceeded along the right, parallel with the coast; they scoured the downs, and *drove in* (that is, they stole) all the cattle that had there been collected. The division of General Kleber formed the rear guard, and did not leave Jaffa till the 29th of May. In this order, the army marched as far as Kan-jouness; the surrounding plains presented a *continued blaze of fire*; but the recollection of the plunder of the convoys, and the atrocities exercised against the French, by the inhabitants of these countries, abundantly justified this terrible retaliation."

After such a recital, it is wonderful how a man of honour (if Berthier must be regarded as such) could find the impudence to declare, in a few subsequent lines of his Work, that many of the Egyptians esteemed the French as brothers, and that the French look upon Cairo as a second country!

The Anglo-Turkish forces having succeeded so well in frustrating the views of the General, it was to be expected that they would follow up their successes; of this, he seems to have been aware; for, immediately on his arrival at Cairo, he made such arrangements as should enable him to protect the sea coast and the Syrian frontier.

The Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces; a party had gone to the Oasis of Sebabiar, with the design of joining Ibraham Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while the other, with Murad Bey, had descended through the Fayum, to gain the Oasis of the Lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs assembled in that quarter. This march of Murad Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Aboukir or at the Tower of the Arabs. To prevent this junction was a material point with the French, and a great many skirmishes took place, which generally terminated in the loss of a few soldiers on the part of the French, and a great number of the enemy. The tribes were sometimes scattered, the French were harassed, and it was easy to see that such a contest must be fatal to an army that had no means of recruiting itself.

Buonaparté set out from Cairo on the 14th of July, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the 18th and 32nd, the riflemen, and two pieces of cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard pursued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend towards Fayum; a few men were killed in this pursuit, and several camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the General-in-Chief, pursued Murad Bey on his route for the space of five leagues. Buonaparté, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th of July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He instantly departed for Gizah, where he passed the night in making his dispositions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh, with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the 69th, those of the 18th and 32nd, the *eclaireus*, and a battalion, which was with him,

of the 13th. A part of the division of General Lasnes was ordered to cross the Nile in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were also a part of General Rampon's division. The artillery destined for the march was also put in motion; and, during the night, all the necessary orders and instructions were forwarded to the different provinces with the utmost haste.

Buonaparté wrote to General Desaix, to spare him a part of his force, and to let General Friant fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortress of Keneh, in Upper Egypt, and that of Cosseir, upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave one hundred men in each place; to observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir; and to concert measures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Rosetta; previously leaving a sufficient number of troops for the security of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who was gone, with a flying column, to the Lakes of Natron, was ordered to place 200 Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garrisons in the convents, which it was thought would make excellent places of defence; the general was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. Buonaparté left Gizah the 16th of July and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh. Generals Lasnes, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the districts of Menuf and Garbieh, in enforcing the payment of the Miri, joined the army there the 20th and 21st.

Here Buonaparté received intelligence that the Turkish ships had landed, near the fort of Aboukir, on the 12th, about 3,000 men, with artillery; and that the garrison, the commandant of which had been killed, had surrendered

the same day. The French Commander was greatly mortified at this event, as it proved that the soldiers did not think the expedition worth the blood that had been shed for it, and were unwilling to spill their own. At Rosetta, the adjutant-general, Julien, secured his provisions, ammunition, and all the sick within the castle; but he remained in the town with about 200 men, whom he had under his command, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont (who commanded at Alexandria) dispatched intelligence to the General, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that the Turks were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, that the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about 15,000 strong.

In consequence of this information, Buonaparté dispatched General Menou to Rosetta with a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was expected that the enemy, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the General learned, with disappointment, that, on the contrary, they were forming a post, and intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for the co-operation of Murad Bey, and his Mamelukes, before they advanced. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase his strength; it was, therefore, important to take a position whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; such a position, whence, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they

might be attacked, deprived of their artillery, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender.

Buonaparté chose a position at the village of Birkit, as one combining those advantages; it is situated at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria; from which he might, besides, confine the enemy to the peninsula of Aboukir; render his communication with the interior more difficult, and entirely intercept the expected reinforcements from the Arabs and the Mamelukes. General Murat, with the cavalry, the dromedaries, the grenadiers, and the first battalion of the 69th, left Rahmanieh in the evening of the 20th of July, to proceed to Birkit. This general had orders to open a communication with Alexandria by detachments, to reconnoitre the enemy at Aboukir, and to advance his patroles round Lake Madie, as far as Etko. The army, as well as the head-quarters, took its position at Birkit on the 23rd, and miners were sent to clear the wells at Beda. In the night one division of it took a position at Kafr-fin and the other at Beda; head-quarters were removed to Alexandria; the General-in-Chief passed the rest of the night in examining the reports of the situation of the enemy at Aboukir; he dispatched three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of General Destaing, to reconnoitre the enemy, take a favourable position about midway between Alexandria and Aboukir, and to clear the adjacent wells. Near his intended station Destaing received intelligence that General Kleber was at Fouah, with a part of his division, and following the route of the army, pursuant to his orders.

According to the reports of the agents and reconnoitring parties, Mustapha Pacha, commander of the Turkish army, had landed with about 15,000 men, a large train of artillery, and 100 horses, and that he was occupi-

ed in erecting works and entrenching the greater part of his force. In the afternoon Buonaparté removed from Alexandria, with the head-quarters, to a position near General Destaing's station and the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir. The cavalry, under General Murat, and the divisions of Generals Lasnes and Rampon, were ordered to follow immediately to the same station; they accordingly arrived early on the morning of the 25th, together with a corps of 400 cavalry, from Upper Egypt; at day-break the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had under his orders 400 cavalry, together with General Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of General Lasnes formed the right wing, and that of General Lannuse the left; the division of General Kleber, expected to arrive in the course of the day, was to form the reserve. The train of artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse, followed the main body of the army. The general of brigade Davoust, with two squadrons of horse, and 100 dromedaries, was directed to take a position between Alexandria and the army, as well to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bey, whose arrival was hourly expected, as to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were dispatched to General Menou, who had advanced to Rosetta, to proceed at day-break and take a position at the extremity of the neck of land, at the entrance of Lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, in order to cannonade and keep at a distance any vessels of the enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to harrass the army on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had drawn up his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; about 1,000 men occupied an intrenched sand-hill on his right, close to the sea, this was supported by a village, occupied by 1,200 men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which consisted of about 2,000 men, with six pieces of cannon,

was upon a detached sand-hill, in front of the first line; this position, which was ill fortified, was chosen to protect the wells, that are most abundant near Aboukir. Some gun-boats appeared to be stationed with a view to protect the space between this position and the second line. The Pacha's second position was about 300 toises in the rear of the village; his centre in and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the first landing; the right of this position was behind an intrenchment extended from the redoubt to the sea, for the space of 150 toises; his left, stretching from the redoubt towards the shore on the other side, occupied some low sand-hills, on the verge of the sea, where it was covered by the fire both of the redoubts and of the gun-boats; in the second position were nearly 7,000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon: 150 toises to the rear of the redoubt was situate the village of Aboukir, and close to it the fort, these were occupied by about 1,500 men. Eighty horsemen formed the suite of the Pacha, who had the chief command; and the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road, at the distance of half a league.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the enemy, and commenced a discharge of musketry. Buonaparté ordered the collumns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack. The general of brigade, Destaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about 1,000 men; at the same time a picquet of cavalry were sent to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. The division of General Lasnes was to advance against the detached sand-hill, on the left of the enemy's line, where 2,000 men and six pieces of cannon were stationed: two squadrons of horse were dispatched to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of General Lanusse was to remain in the second line.

General Destaing with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps against which the division of General Lasnes advanced, seeing that stationed on the right give way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot; but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which was nearly in front of the centre of the Pacha's second line, this post he turned while the 32nd demi-brigade attacked it in front. The Turks here made a spirited resistance; a considerable number of men were detached from the left of the second line to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, which was in the centre of the second position. This post was a very strong one, the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula on the right as far as the sea; another work, of similar construction, extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by Mustapha's troops, who were posted on the sand-hills, and among groves of palm trees.

While the troops took breath, Buonaparté ordered several pieces of artillery to be planted at the village and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; General Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the centre of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugieres received

orders to march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The 32nd, which occupied the left of the village, had orders to hold them in check, and to support the 18th. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity: it cut down, or drove into the sea, all before it; but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gunboats; from this terrible situation they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the Turks were supplied by fresh troops.

The Turks, deficient in discipline, but not in ardour, stood the shock of the French artillery with the greatest courage, but their resistance only stimulated the courage of the French cavalry to new attacks; at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of the redoubt; and, though every soldier considered himself as sent upon the forlorn hope, they all seemed actuated by the infernal determination to do as much mischief as possible before they died. The adjutant-general Roze, Bessiers, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and Adjutant le Turq, were at the head of the charges; the chief of brigade, Daviver, was killed. The horse artillery, and that of the guides, took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. The adjutant-general, le Turq, judged that a reinforcement of infantry was necessary; he represented this to Buonaparté, who sent him with a battalion of the 75th; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry; with this he flew to the centre of the left, to join the 18th demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the entrenchments of the enemy's right. The 18th continued to advance; the enemy, at the same time, made a sortie from their position on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns,

man to man; the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French; in despair they slung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At length the 18th reached the entrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which everywhere flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugiers, and the adjutant-general, le Turq, displayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevertheless, to fight; soon after a ball carried away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the 18th, which, in the greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The adjutant-general le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself in the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was cut down by a sabre, and mixed among the dead; the chief of brigade, Morangei, was previously wounded, and 20 of the 18th were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their intrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigriette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The General-in-Chief had ordered a battalion of the 22nd light infantry, and another of the 69th, to advance upon the left of the enemy; General Lasnes, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigor on the left flank and on its gorge; the 22nd, the 69th, and a battalion of the 75th, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt; at the same time the 18th charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, took advantage of the moment in which General Lasnes stormed the redoubt to order the cavalry to charge, and

to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort: this order was executed with such vigor and effect, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The rout of the Turks was complete, and they beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayonet; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre. No alternative but the sea remained; to this sad resource they fled, as a last refuge. Several thousands committed themselves to the waves; showers of musketry and grape-shot followed them;—never did so terrible a sight present itself: few of them survived! as the ships were too far distant for the greater part to reach them. Mustapha Pcha, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, and 200 men, were made prisoners; about 2,000 were killed in the field of battle; all the tents and baggage, and 20 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot; all within were panic struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by 1,200 men; it was proposed to them to surrender; some were inclined to agree, while others refused; the day was spent in parleying; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed. Many of the French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkish squadron communicated with the shore; the garrison was re-organised and defended the fort; and batteries of cannon and mortars were erected by the French for its reduction.

On the 26th of July the fort was summoned to surrender. The son of the Pacha, his Kiaya, and the officers, were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th the bombardment was continued; on the 28th several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus, some gun-boats were sunk, and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to want provisions got into

some houses of the village which joined the works; General Lasnes approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg; General Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege. On the 30th General Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the Turks were lodged, and, after some slaughter, drove them into the fort.

On the 2nd of August General Robin made himself master of the trenches; batteries were raised on the counterscarp, and the mortars played with vigor: the fort was little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had now no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, but threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The son of the Pacha, the Kiaya, and the Governor, were made prisoners; thus, a combination of talents and skill had subdued the energies of physical power. This victory had a direct tendency to establish the French dominion in Egypt, by shewing the dreadful consequences of opposing them; but they were rapidly wasting, and, as they had no means of recruiting their strength, a victory obtained at the expense of a few hundreds of men, was equal to a defeat. The General saw that he was likely to be assailed on every side, and that he could not strengthen one frontier without weakening another; but, from the prisoners captured at Aboukir he learned, with the utmost chagrin and mortification, that he was entirely superseded in the grand object of his expedition; for the English had penetrated his design of co-operating with Tippoo, and had overthrown that monarch, and seized all his territories, by which the influence of France, in the East Indies, was perfectly annihilated. Egypt itself had now lost half its value, and the mind of Buonaparté, naturally sullen, retired within itself. He was never cheerful, unless to disguise the secret bodings of his soul; and he now looked upon none as his friends but those who soothed him with copious draughts of

flattery. He saw but few persons, and conversed freely with none, Berthier and Menou seemed to have most of his confidence. He did but little business, and it was easy for any acute observer to see that he was conscious of having failed; but, though he regarded the expedition as having miscarried, he had not courage to believe that any other persons views corresponded with his own.

THE END OF CHAP. II.

CHAPTER III.

Buonaparté changes his Name to Bonaparte....A French Fleet sails from Brest....Great Maritime Preparations of the English....The French Fleet effects a Junction with the Spanish Fleet and returns to Brest, being Forty-seven Sail of the Line, without any Attempts to annoy the English.... Unpopularity of the Directory....Changes in the Directory. ....Weakness of the French Army....The French Retreat from Naples....Admiral Nelson arrives with an English Fleet....Treachery and Cruelty of the Neapolitan Court to the Neapolitan Republicans....Various Operations in Italy. ....Florence wrested from the French....Retreat of Macdonald....Surrender of Mantua to the Allies.

THE hopes of Egypt were now all transported to France, whilst those of France were centered in Egypt; so powerful is the propensity in mankind to rely upon any other exertion than their own. It has already been stated that the communication between France and Egypt was cut off by the English cruisers, and the Allies had, by this means, kept the two countries ignorant of each others situation, an advantage far inferior to that of being themselves acquainted with the real state of the new colony; for it became evident to the British Government, upon the perusal of these dispatches and letters, that Buonaparté could not long maintain himself in the new settlement Such of the intercepted letters as it was thought fit to print were published by authority of the English Government; and it appeared by these papers, that, from his entering upon the expedition to Egypt, the General had altered the orthography of his name, and descended from Buonaparté into a Bonaparte, all his public acts being so signed. To the French Government it appeared highly important that a maritime force should

be collected to enable the Republic to recover the command in the Mediteranean. Early in the spring the British had not more than 15 sail in that sea, the rest of the navy being employed in watching the different coasts of the ocean, and every harbour being carefully blockaded. The fleet in Brest harbour seemed so entirely unprovided with almost every necessary that no apprehensions were entertained of its daring to put to sea in haste. The news, however, of its being actually at sea, arrived at Plymouth on the 30th of April, when 14 sail of the line immediately set sail from Spithead, the greater part of which were appointed to reinforce the fleet under Lord Bridport, who had at sea 24 sail of the line and six frigates by the 10th of May, and in a few days after was joined by Admiral Collingwood. A squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, was sent, under Vice-admiral Whitshed, to reinforce that of Lord St. Vincent, then before Cadiz; and Vice-admiral Dixon sailed from Yarmouth with five sail of the line to reinforce that before the Texel, and of which Lord Duncan took upon him the command, having received an additional force of five Russian vessels, under Admiral Tate.

The Russian admiral, Mackarof, had arrived at Sheerness with four ships of the line, and he set sail for the Mediterranean, so that, in the space of 14 days, Lord Bridport could muster, at Cape Clear, 30 sail of the line; while Lord Duncan blocked up the Dutch fleet in the Texel with 22 sail of the line, and Lord St. Vincent's fleet, including the reinforcements from Whitshed and Mackarof, amounted to about 30 sail of the line. The route and peculiar destination of the French fleet were a secret in Great Britain; but, so formidable were the English preparations, that it could sail to no place without meeting with superior forces, and on the Irish coast with a force much more than equal. The Republican Admiral appeared conscious of the vast and formidable enemy he

had to meet, and he endeavoured to augment his fleet by the addition of six Spanish sail of the line, from Ferrol; but this junction could not be effected, as the Spaniards would not venture to cross the Bay of Biscay, the squadron having on board 3,000 troops; it therefore anchored at the Isle of Aix on the 7th of May.

Another division of the Spanish fleet, in Carthagena, was joined by the French, in spite of the combined vigilance of the British admirals; from this port they sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and anchored in the road of Cadiz, before the British admiral had received information respecting their movements, or the junction they had effected. They made a grand total of 47 sail of the line, and, about the 21st of July, actually anchored in Brest water. This naval expedition had something in it extremely daring, and seemed to portend a desperate stroke against Britain, though in fact it all terminated in nothing but parade. It was expected by the people of France that such a prodigious fleet would either convey sufficient reinforcement to the armies, capture the fleet of Lord St. Vincent before Cadiz, or destroy the British and Russian ships before Palermo, in the Island of Sicily; but the Directory did not think it prudent to make the attempt.

The conduct of the Directory had produced such general dissatisfaction that its destruction had been long premeditated, and the season for accomplishing it at last arrived.

The most active leaders of the conspiracy against the Executive Power, were nine members of the councils, Lucien Buonaparté, Francois de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meurthe, whose object was to throw out three of the members, as unqualified for their rank; these oppositionists were marked out by the Directory as objects of vengeance; this did not escape their observation, so that they did not deem their own houses an asylum, and viewed their lives in continual danger, except when

seated in the councils as representatives of the people, completely sheltered by their constitutional inviolability.

So determined was the opposition of the Councils that their interest was daily obtaining converts, and the contending parties secured such means of defence as might render them victorious, should the difference require to be settled by force of arms. The Directory had a guard of their own, *ex officio*, and the troops in the environs of Paris were likewise subject to their authority; but the latter were gained over by the opposition party. The officers were peculiarly attached to the enemies of the Directory, and gained possession of the Military School without much opposition, and made themselves masters of all the engines of destruction, which the Directory might have turned against them without such preparations. It was demanded, that three of the Directors, Merlin, Treilhard, and Lepeaux, should resign; three days were required by the Directory for the purpose of returning their definitive answer. The Councils had already two of the members (Barras and Sieyes) on their side, and therefore laboured to procure the majority, as the easiest and least offensive mode of securing the object they had in view. But the three members of the Directory remained inflexible, considering that Constitution as their principal safeguard, which, in a thousand instances, they had made no scruple to violate.

By the 13th article of the Constitution it was enacted, "That no member of the Legislative Body can be elected a member of the Directory, either during the time of his legislative functions or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions." Upon inquiry it was found, that Treilhard had ceased to be a legislator on the 30th Floreal, and had been elected a Director on the 26th of the same month next year, which made his directorship unconstitutional; which violation he frankly acknowledged, and, without any struggle whatever for the retaining of his authority, he voluntarily resigned his

seat. On his resignation his place was filled by one Gohier, minister of justice. Merlin and Lepaux quitted the Luxembourg loaded with curses and execrations. Roger Ducos and Moulins, were nominated their successors; the former being a legislator with whom the people in general were little acquainted, and the latter promoted to the rank of a staff officer during the reign of terror.

The Directory felt the necessity of arousing all the energies of France to meet the new attacks that the Allies were preparing. The Archduke had almost 90,000 men under his command, exclusive of the army of observation, under General Suwarrow, between the Danube and the frontiers of the Tyrol, which was 20,000 strong; the Russians amounted to about 45,000, which, with the forces under Haddick, Bellegarde, Kaim, &c. amounted to the mighty total of 300,000 men, destined against the frontiers of France! The new Directory used no efforts to conceal the danger of the state; the Republic, at the highest calculation, had no more than 195,000 men to bring into the field, exclusive of the troops of the Batavian Republic, which amounted to about 20,000. In this situation, it was resolved to raise the army to 500,000 men, from every class of the conscription.

Battalions were formed in the different departments, and, by official calculations, it was stated, that no fewer than 550,000 men would be in the pay of government, and ready for action, in three months. To render these forces effectual without, it was proposed to form anew the national guard, of which the moveable columns were to be employed in the service of the interior, and for reinforcing the different towns and forts upon the frontiers; and a small part of those forces soon reached the armies of Moreau and Massena.

We formerly left General Macdonald continuing his retreat into Tuscany, after he had fought the bloody battle near Placentia. It would have been impossible for

him to have finished this arduous retreat had General Suwarrow continued to press upon his rear-guard, for Klenau and Hohenzollern attacked him in flank, and thereby impeded his march very considerably; but the grand manœuvres performed in his favour by General Moreau turned Suwarrow's attention towards Alexandria. The division under General Victor occupied the passes of the Appenines, in conjunction with that of Lapoype, after marching along the valley of the Tanaro, when the communication by La Corniche was completely covered, and nothing left to Macdonald to apprehend respecting the last outlet.

The retreat of the army from Naples was followed by scenes the most shocking to humanity; the majority were averse to Republicanism, and Cardinal Ruffo having assumed the command, was at the gates of the city with a considerable force, which he had collected in Calabria, and was joined by 2,000 British and 500 Russian troops. Upon this the Republicans took refuge in the forts, that they might have the opportunity of obtaining an honourable capitulation; they were attacked at different times, but repulsed the Royalists with the most determined bravery and resolution. Ten days afterward the Cardinal sent a flag of truce to such of them as were in the Castello Novo, and to those also who had made an asylum of Fort St. Elmo. This last place entered into a capitulation with Cardinal Ruffo, who assumed the designation of *Vicar of the King of Naples*. By one article it was agreed on, "That the members of the government, and the patriots in the fortresses, as well as the French garrison, and the national troops, should march out with the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and should be conducted to Toulon." But, as there was no dependence to be placed on the treaty of a Catholic, the besieged were not to evacuate St. Elmo till every article of the capitulation was faithfully performed by the conquerors.—The Republicans were detained in the roads for 17 days, owing

to contrary winds, during which period they did not experience any molestation; but the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, appeared before Naples, and blocked up all the ships which were appointed to carry the Republicans to Toulon, and the King soon after arrived, attended by two British ships of the line. He treacherously published a manifesto, declaring, that a negotiation with rebels was contrary to his wish, and done without his authority. He accordingly reversed all that had been done by Cardinal Ruffo, and several of the Republican party were hanged upon the spot, and their houses given up to robbery and plunder.

It has been said that the cruelties commanded by the King upon this occasion exceeded those which were the disgrace of France during the tyrannical usurpation of Robespierre! and it has left an indelible stain upon the character of Nelson, that this act of perfidy was sanctioned by his authority. The Prince of Stigliano and the Duke of Carracciolo were beheaded, and 19 ladies of distinction, with a number of officers and ecclesiastics were hanged. The court was so ashamed at the reports so extensively circulated, that a refutation of them was published, but the bloody deeds cannot be denied. The Cardinal in vain protested against violating the articles of capitulation, notwithstanding he produced a letter from the prime minister, by which he received authority to grant the conditions upon which their surrender was obtained. Thousands were continually thrown into prison, and the tribunal executed the royal mandate with bloody punctuality. The Cardinal did not conceal his resentment and indignation, on which account he was deprived of his office as Viceroy, by those who considered it as improper to keep faith with heretics, and imagined that the nod of a sovereign was sufficient to screen the worst of crimes.

As the rear-guards, which General Macdonald left behind him, were extremely weak, Klenau and Hohenzol-

lern obliged them to evacuate Modena and Bologna. General Ott forced the garrison of Urbino to surrender, after a siege of a few days. Macdonald, therefore, determined to evacuate Tuscany, and again endeavour to retreat into the territory of Genoa. The right wing of his army was considerably weakened by the desertion of the Cisalpine General, Labotze; and he suffered much in Florence by the insurgents of Arezzo. The Combined Powers, immediately after his departure, reinforced Tuscany, forming a junction with the Insurgents of Arezzo, so strongly reinforced as to form a body of 30,000 men, under General Ingheranni. On the 8th of July Klenau made his entrance into Florence; at the time the people rose up in arms, and, having effaced every mark of the Republican constitution, they re-established their ancient government, a tolerable good proof that the sway of the French power was not quite so mild as it was represented by themselves. The last rear-guard was composed of the troops in Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo, who finished their retreat by the way of Sarzana. General D'Argubet prepared to make a vigorous resistance, and strongly reinforced the garrisons of Fort d'Antigano, which the Insurgents menaced, when he received orders to evacuate Leghorn. He capitulated with the Tuscan General, Lavillette, which embraced the safe retreat of the garrison of Porto Ferrajo, and the return of the sick. The Grand Duke was re-established and General Macdonald finished his retreat, having been obliged to leave behind him or destroy his heavy artillery, camp-equipage, and the remains of the rich spoils of Italy, the army being now reduced to 14,000 men. After Suwarrow had formed a junction with General Bellegarde between Tortona and Alexandria, on the 26th of June, he called in the troops of Kaim and Vukassovich, in order to direct his route against General Moreau, who retreated from Novi farther into the Ligurian Republic, by the way of the Bochetta.

The main body of the Combined Army encamped on the river Orba, at the entrance of the valley of that name; a situation that served to protect Alexandria and Tortona. General Bellegarde was appointed to besiege the former of these two places, as Suwarrow considered the reduction of it necessary to his subsequent operations. The first parallel was completed on the 14th of July, and 21 batteries were ready to open upon it, when Gardanne, the Republican commander, received a summons, but refused to surrender; two hundred and ten pieces of cannon played incessantly against it; and General Gardanne, finding it impossible to resist the dreadful force brought against him, offered to capitulate, which the enemy accepted on the 22nd, and the garrison continued prisoners of war, to the amount of 2,600 men. General Suwarrow fixed his head quarters at Alexandria, having to lament the loss of General de Chasteler, whose military talents had been highly beneficial to him. Moreau, who had been unable to retire to Alexandria, extended his line Westwards to the frontiers of France, without leaving either Genoa or the Bochetta exposed, and he preserved the other passes of the Appenines: his head-quarters were at Culiano; and, having taken such steps as could alone secure the possession of the Ligurian Republic, and the arrival of reinforcements, he resigned the command of the army to General Joubert. After Suwarrow got possession of Alexandria he again marched a part of his army into Piedmont, invested Coni, made an attack upon Fenestrelles, and dispatched General Haddick, with 12,000 men, to the Valley of Aost; in order to reach the Vallais. The Prince of Rohan, having received reinforcements, made an attack on Little St. Bernard, which occasioned a considerable degree of alarm, and rendered it necessary for the Republicans to retain a considerable force in that quarter.

The importance of the battle near Placentia (formerly mentioned,) gained by the Combined Powers, consisted

permited to continue the siege of Mantua. The capture of that place was of the last importance, in the estimation of Suwarrow, as it would form a justification of his projects, rectify his plan of operations, and put it in his power to send reinforcements to the Archduke, in return for those which he had formerly received from his Royal Highness. Nothing was left unattempted to accomplish the speedy reduction of Mantua, and 600 pieces of cannon and mortars were destined to pour their thunders against it. The army of the besiegers was reinforced by two regiments from Austria, and a corps of Russian artillery; while the people, for 40 miles round, were compelled to assist in constructing the works.

In the garrison of this city there were 10,000 men, commanded by Latour Foissac, who had been an engineer under the monarchial government. The attack was made by General Kray on the South side, who at first carried the outposts, the Cerese, the head of the bridge covering the sluice, and the communications with the works of the Suburb du Thé, which was divided from the main land by an arm of the Mincio. Opposite to this suburb the trenches were opened during the night between the 13th and 14th of July; as soon as it was perceived that the trenches were opened, the fire from the city became extremely brisk, which, however, did not prevent the finishing of the first and second parallels; and the batteries were mounted in less than a week.

The main attack was seconded by others against the horn-work of the gate Pradella, and Fort St. George, on the opposite side of the lake, against which approaches were made at the same time. On breaking the chief sluice, and draining the water, to render easy the establishing of new batteries for protecting the passage of Bajuola, General Kray attacked the entrenchments between Cerese and the Suburb du Thé, which he carried, sword in hand. The French abandoned fort St. George

on the 26th of July, and the horn-work, commanding the entrance across to the Pradella was likewise evacuated, which the enemy believed might be carried by assault, after opening the third parallel at the foot of the glacis. In this situation the commander accepted of the capitulation which Kray offered him on the 28th, and delivered to him the keys of Mantua, of which the Republicans had retained the possession since the month of February 1797. In two days after, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, and laid down their arms upon the glacis. Agreeably to the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to be escorted to the frontiers of France, under the positive proviso not to take up arms against the Allies till regularly exchanged.

It is no difficult matter to form a judgment of the importance of this surrender to the Combined Powers; as, while Mantua was in possession of the Republicans, it was impossible for General Suwarrow to carry on any decisive operations against Switzerland or Nice. In this situation of affairs, a new plan was adopted for defending the frontiers of France, advantageous to that country, and continually rendered more so by every moment's delay. Suwarrow's army, and that of the Archduke were mutually enabled to assist each other; and the surrender of Mantua, at such a critical period, was the severest loss which the Republic could have experienced. Nothing of any consequence took place in Switzerland; the hostile armies being so nearly on a par that it was thought nothing decisive could be attempted by either, without destroying the equilibrium.

THE END OF CHAP. III.

CHAPTER IV.

Various Engagements between Massena and the Archduke....Lecourbe gains Possission of St. Gothard....Bloody Engagements between the French and the Allies....Jouber killed....Dreadful Battle of Novi....Retreat of the French. ....The Allies take Tortona....Suwarrow proceeds to Switzerland.

MASSENA and the Archduke were equally ignorant of the strength of their respective positions after the sanguinary conflicts before Zurich, till they attempted to dislodge the advanced guards of each other. The Archduke attacked Mount Albis on the 8th of July, and Massena gave battle, on the 15th, to that division of the Austrian army which was before Zurich, neither of which was productive of any material advantage. The left wing of the Archduke's army was entrusted to General Hotze, who made Klotten his head-quarters, and Massena stationed himself at Lenzburg, completed his lines, called in his left wing under Gederal Lecourbe, whose rear-guard had been in continual action with such of the Austrian troops as were commanded by Bellegarde and Haddick among the vallies in the vicinity of St. Gothard. As the Archduke perceived, about the end of June, that strong reinforcements were sent to Massena, he gave it in charge to General Stzarry, who commanded on the right side of the Rhine, to annoy the Republican posts, and draw off their attention, in the most serious manner, towards the stations on and near the Rhine.

The divisions of the French army, stationed at Offenburg, under General Grand, were obliged to retreat towards Kehl, while other troops, in the same quarter, were forced to take refuge under old Brisach. Massena, in the mean time, strongly reinforced his left wing beyond the Rhine, finished his preparations for the defence of

Basil, and enabled General Grand to adopt offensive measures. The Austrians, who had stationed themselves at Reschen, were attacked by the enemy on the 14th of July, and compelled to retreat beyond Oberkirch; and, at the same time, a bloody action took place between the hussars of Blankstein and different companies of Republican grenadiers. General Grand, two days after, made an attack upon General Meersfeldt, obliging him to abandon Offenburg, and fall back beyond Ortemburg. On the 9th of July, Meersfeldt engaged the French, in his turn, after receiving reinforcements, and forced them to relinquish every advantage they had previously obtained.

Massena made several attempts against the left wing of the Archduke's army in the small cantons, as he was assured that it had been considerably weakened by reinforcing Haddick and Bellegarde, when a number of actions took place, during which different posts were captured and re-captured, and no advantage gained by either party. On the 14th of July a similar attempt was made by General Hotze with the Archduke's left wing, on the right of the French army. Little more was accomplished by these attacks than had formerly been achieved by the French, only the latter were able to reckon among the prisoners they made, the Imperial general, Count de Bey. This was the first operation of the Archduke's left, which could be donominated offensive, and had an intimate connection with others, preparing in the Upper Vallais, at the source of the Rhone, where the inhabitants appeared in arms to espouse the cause of the Combined Powers, and molest the posts of General Turreau.

The French Commander now found it necessary to rest and recruit his army, that it might be prepared to meet a fresh body of Russians who were advancing towards Swabia, under the command of General Rimsi Korsakow; Massena strongly fortified his right wing, under General Lecourbe, taking care not to weaken his centre, stationed before Zurich, nor his left which was

flanked by the Rhine. On the 12th of August, Massena began his attack on the Archduke's position, with the left wing of his army, in the vicinity of Baden; next day he took advantage of a thick fog to send a column across the Limmat, which succeeded in carying one of the main guards and entering the camp of the cavalry, the Republicans pushed forward within a short distance of the city of Zurich, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Archduke's line.

The French were afterwards attacked by forces greatly superior, and taken in flank by two batteries, when they found it necessary to act on the defensive. The carnage was dreadful, as the Swiss of both parties were engaged, and attacked each other with the most determined fury and revenge. Massena withdrew his forces to the left side of the Limmat, and on the 15th the centres of the contending armies resumed their former positions. The whole columns of the French right, comprehending the division of General Turreau, in the Upper Vallais, amounting to about 30,000 men, directed their march against the chief posts of the Austrians. General Chabran, with his division, passed the Sihlt, repulsed the enemy on the West side of the Lake of Zurich, ascended the Heights of Etxel and Schindelezzi, and engaged a corps of Austrians between Lachen Einsidlen. By forcing General Jellachich to abandon his position on the lake and to retreat to Zurich, the French destroyed the communication between the centre and left wing of the Archduke's army, at the same time assisting the movements and attacks of General Lecourbe upon Schwitz and the whole course of the Schotten, from Altorf to the top of St. Gothard. Lecourbe had it in charge to repulse the troops under Simpschen and Jellachich, and he vigorously attacked the Austrian posts before Schwitz, on the 15th of August, at the dawn of day, when they were obliged to retreat upon Glaris, by the way of the Bragel Mountain: Lecourbe, in person, led on the attack against the

post of Brunnen. A desperate action took place at the bridge of Mulhen, which the aid-de-camp, Montfort, carried, in spite of a tremendous fire of artillery.

Lecourbe, with a fleet of boats, proceeded up the Lake of Lucerne, in order to contribute his aid to the difficult attack upon Altorf, which he had committed to the chief officer of his staff, General Person. Some of the troops intended for this expedition took the route to Seedorf, and the remainder to Attinghausen, at which villages some bloody engagements were fought, as well as at Fluelen, near the Chapel of William Tell. General Simpschen was obliged to evacuate Altorf in the evening, who retreated by Schindellezzi, after he had destroyed the bridges on the Reuss. The same day General Loison reached Wasen, after a difficult march, by the way of Mount Wepcha, across prodigious quantites of ice and snow. He reached the small fort of the Meyne, situated between the precipices of the torrent of the same name, and perpendicular rocks, through a narrow path, defended by musketry and artillery. The fort was defended by 300 men, which the Republican grenadiers carried by assault.

After General Lecourbe had scattered and pursued a few Austrian posts in the Valley of Maderan, he determined to ascend the Reuss, and got before General Loison. As he proceeded on his march he met with a battalion which Loison had sent to keep up a communication with him. At this moment Lecourbe united his forces, with a view to make an attack on the station of St. Gothard, and come up with the right wing of his army under General Gaudin, who had received orders to come by the Heights of the Grimsel and the Furca. General Lecourbe having as yet received no intelligence from Loison, relative to his attack on the station at St. Gothard, continued his route; and, as he deemed it impracticable to turn the passage of the Pierced Rock, he resolved to attack in front, and force the passage of the Devil's Bridge, across

the Reuss, 20 miles South of Altorf. Having formed a junction with General Loison, he attacked the Austrians by four in the afternoon, when they fell back to their entrenchments at the Devil's Bridge, flanked by the torrents of the Reuss and inaccessible mountains. The French shewed themselves at the head of the bridge, and pursued the Austrians, expecting to pass it along with them; but in the very heat of the battle the bridge gave way, and a hideous chasm of fifty feet obliged them to return, where they were exposed to a tremendous fire from the opposite side. The bridge underwent a thorough repair during the night, and, on the ensuing morning, General Gaudin appeared on the right side of it, having descended the mountain of St. Gothard, by the Valley of Urseren. The Austrians, in the defiles of Mount Grimsel, resisted the attacks of the Republicans with the most determined bravery. The camp between Oberwald, and Gueschen was attacked and carried by the French; and after Gaudin had rested a night on these icy summits, he prosecuted his march, by Mount Fucra, upon St. Gothard.

Thus was Lecourbe master of St. Gothard, and the whole course of Reuss, in the space of forty-eight hours, and re-established a communication with the Upper Vallais, when General Turreau's division formed a junction with the right, and drove the Austrians beyond the Sempelen with great loss. In the meantime the Austrian army having retreated from Urseren toward Disentis, on the Rhine, began to rally on the mountains of Crispalt, from which they could accomplish, with ease, a descent into the Valley of the Rhine; and they succeeded in blocking up the entrance into the Grisons by the sources of that river, by the way of Mounts Adel and Splugen. As General Lecourbe was apprehensive that the Austrians would strengthen themselves in this position, he turned St. Gothard by Airold, and marched, with the principal part of his forces, after their junction, towards the Lake of Ober Alp, and carried, by force, the difficult defile on

the way to Disentis, which was defended by three battalions of Kerpen, commanding the heights, and covering the outlets of Cimut, and St. Giacomo, into the vallies of the Rhine. This engagement was uncommonly sanguinary, and the hostile generals charged at the head of their respective columns; the regiment of Kerpen sustained many dreadful assaults, but, was at last, compelled to yield to the Republicans, and only a small part of it made good its retreat to Disentis.

The Archduke made every preparation to strengthen his left wing, after its signal defeat, and brought up the first Russian columns which reached Schaffhausen, to be engaged in battle without any time being permitted them to rest. In order to draw the attention of Massena on the left, and induce him to stop the movements of Lecourbe, he dissembled his forcing the passage of the Aar, below Baden, and on the 17th of August began to construct two bridges. The work was carried on under the protection of the Republican fire on the left side; but the want of proper anchorage, from the rocky bottom of the Aar, rendered this measure impracticable. The first division of the Russians, under General Hotze, marched upon Regespurg on the 19th, with a view to put a period to the progress of the French.

Both sides seemed now preparing to act with greater activity than ever. It was the resolution of Suwarrow, in Italy, to leave no place behind him unoccupied, and to gain possession of the flat country. Prior to his attempt on the Ligurian Republic, he pressed the siege of Tortona, blockaded Coni with redoubled caution, and kept a watchful eye on the Republican posts at the entrance of the defiles, and little vallies of the Appenines. General Klenau, who had followed the rear-guard of Macdonald to the entrance of the river of the East, made himself master of Sarzana, Fort Lerici, and all the positions on the Gulph of Spezzia, where the Republicans were already masters of Fort St. Maria. Every part of

the Allied army began to concentrate, and met in the plain between the river Orba and Scrivia, when the arrival was expected of the army which had besieged Mantua, under General Kray; and the capture of the citadel of Tortona was to be the signal for future operations.

Joubert having received the chief command of the army of Italy, in place of Moreau, as already mentioned, was ordered to descend the Appenines, to bring Suwarrow to engage him, which movement was to be favoured by some corps belonging to the army of the Alps, now commanded by Championnet, who had baffled all the calumnies of the old Directory. Massena, in Switzerland, was to come to a general engagement with the left wing of the Austrian army, to force it to abandon the small cantons, and St. Gothard, which was considerably weakened by being extended; he was also directed to act on the right side of the lower Rhine, to force the Archduke either to come to the aid of General Stzarray, or prevent him from receiving reinforcements by the way of Swabia. This constituted the plan of attack from Schaffhausen to the Mediterranean.

It was on the frontier of Switzerland that the French Republic had most to apprehend, which induced the Government to send powerful reinforcements to the army in that quarter, which arrived in constant succession, by different routes, to unite with the centre and wings of Massena's army, while his antagonist, the Archduke, could not receive divisions of Russian troops by any other way than that of Schaffhausen, and whose periods of arrival could be calculated with precision. The reinforcements of Massena were excellent troops, chiefly consisting of infantry; but, as they were unacquainted with fighting among mountains, the Austrians had greatly the advantage of them, united with mountaineers, Swiss, and Tyroleans,

who had re-captured St. Gothard, and the Grisons, and the greater part of the small cantons.

In the meantime, General Joubert made judicious arrangements of the reinforcements which he received from the Republican government. The mutilated army of Macdonald, notwithstanding the opposition of the Allies, succeeded in reaching Genoa, but the long attemped junction was still prevented; the General repaired to France to enjoy a short season of repose, at a distance from the excessive fatigues and horrors of war—a tranquillity to which he was entitled from his having accomplished one of the most laborious and honourable retreats recorded in history. Joubert's right wing was commanded by St. Cyr, and the left by Perignon, which latter took the strong position of Millesimo, and, likewise, Murialto and Callizano in the vicinity of Ceva.

The centre and right wing of the French army were covered by the Bochetta, as they marched from Montenotte to Campofreddo, and pushed their advanced posts into the valley of Erro, and of the Orba. An advanced, guard under General Dombrousky, took possession of the posts of Gavi, while that of Serravalla was forced to capitulate. General Joubert fixed his headquarters at Campo Marino, and reconnoitred his positions, in company with Moreau, being resolved to raise the blockade of Tortona, and to force his way into the plains of Liguria. He desired General Moreau to assist him with his advice and instructions before his departure, with which that extraordinary officer generously complied, and accepted of a command under the orders of Joubert. Having taken strong advanced guards from the centre and right wing of his army on the 13th of August, and posted himself in the vallies of the Orba and the Bormida, Joubert formed three columns of attack; the first took the route of the Bormida, marching upon Acqui by the way of Dego; the second descended the

valley of Erro, through which the river of that name flows, and marched towards Castelferro, while the third marched from Campofreddo, and was to make its entrance into the plain Givi.

A fourth column, superior to the rest in strength, marched by the defiles of the Bochetta, under General St. Cyr, to whom Moreau had united himself as a guide, although the real object of its destination was to raise the siege of Tortona. The Republicans, on the same day, made a vigorous attack on the troops under General Bellegarde, who were in possession of Trezzo and Bestanga before Acqui. General Joubert, who pushed the left wing at Basaluzzo, where he could cover the movements of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the Scrivia, was determined to follow the course of the mountains on the right side of this river, and march directly against Tortona. This was a manœuvre which Suwarrow had it not in his power to prevent, unless he could drive the Republican army from their position, which he determined to attempt without loss of time, and accordingly commenced his attack on the 16th of August. The right wing of the Combined Army, under General Kray, began the bloody action, who directed his whole force against the left wing of the French, where General Joubert had assumed the personal command.

Scarcely had the battle commenced, when this gallant officer was mortally wounded by a ball, which pierced him to the heart, while heading and animating the infantry by his personal presence, who were enthusiastically exclaiming, "Forward! forward!" and General Joubert, to whose military talents and character every political party in France did equal justice, exclaimed with his expiring breath, "Forward! forward!" Novi, situated nine miles South-south-west of Tortona, was attempted to be turned by General Kray, and at the same time attacked in front by the Russian commander, Bagration; but their united assaults were ineffectual, when

Derfelden and Melas, with the centre and left wing, were commanded to attack, the one by the road of Novi, and the other by the left or West side of the Scrivia; an attempt which proved equally as abortive as the one already mentioned, since the Russian commander, Derfelden, found it impracticable to gain the heights to the left of Novi.

All the hostile lines were now closely engaged; and, as was to be expected, the slaughter was prodigious. The troops under General Kray were driven back about three in the afternoon, with great loss; a circumstance which determined Suwarrow to make another attack upon the heights of Novi with the joint forces under Derfelden, Bagration, and Milloradowitch; but so determined was the opposition of the Republicans, that they could not be compelled to abandon their position. During this contest the centre of the Combined Army was nearly annihilated by the charges of the French, which were sustained by Suwarrow with that ferocious kind of courage for which he was remarkable through life. As he could not force the centre of the enemy, he did every thing in his power to prevent its progress. Moreau assumed the chief command after the death of Joubert, and distinguished himself by his personal bravery.

General Melas, with the left wing, composed of 18 battalions of grenadiers, and six of Austrian infantry, reached the first heights of Novi, on the side of Bettola, sending the corps of Nobili along the left bank of the Scrivia, to turn the right wing of the Republican army. With the division of Frolich he engaged the right flank of the French, when General Lusignan received some desperate wounds, and was made prisoner. The Prince of Lichtenstein was ordered to pass the line of the French army to the rear of their right wing, and take possession at the same time of whatever intermediate points he might deem of advantage. Melas fortified this movement by strong batteries in the direction of the troops,

which turned the tide of victory in favour of the Allies. Melas made an attack upon the post of Novi at five in the evening—a post which had already caused the effusion of so much blood, and which Moreau had strongly reinforced, to cover his retreat, which he now perceived was become inevitable; but which he did not accomplish till he was nearly surrounded. The communication with Gavi was entirely cut off by the Prince of Lichtenstein, on which account the French army could only retreat by Ovada, 20 miles South-east of Novi.

At its commencement, the retreat was conducted with considerable order; but the road being blocked up by the artillery in passing through Pasturano, the rear-guard was obliged to halt, was thrown into confusion, and closely pursued by General Karackzy. Violent efforts were made by Grouchy, Perignon, and Parthenau, to rally the rear-guard, but without effect, when all these generals were wounded and made prisoners, and night alone terminated the conflict. The French had numbers to contend with vastly superior to their own, as well as equally courageous; but they fought with that fury which is the offspring of despondency.

The bloody battle of Novi left 25,000 men dead upon the field, including both sides, and the victory was not determined till Melas had succeeded in turning the right wing of the French army. It is probable that Joubert might have been yet alive had he waited with patience to ascertain the plan of Suwarrow from his first movements, and resolved to strike decisive blows only when existing circumstances evinced their necessity; but an insatiable thirst for military fame conducted him to his ruin. It will not be disputed that his place was most ably supplied by General Moreau; but it is admitted on all hands, that the loss of a commander in the heat of an action is never sufficiently supplied, although his successor should possess superior abilities.

The French army retreating towards the Appenines

during the night, was pursued by General Karackzy, who had made himself master of a part of the field artillery left at Pasturano. Moreau took possession of the Red Mountain, in order to favour his retreat, where St. Cyr was posted to defend the approaches to the Bochetta; and the Republican army rallied by degrees and resumed its former positions. Moreau repaired to Genoa, and urged Championnet to take upon him the command of the army. The honour of the victory of Novi was, unconditionally, ascribed to Melas, by General Suwarrow; a degree of candour which will do honour to his memory, since it proves that he knew how to give to military merit its just tribute of applause; yet the part he himself took in the battle was considered so highly honourable, that his own sovereign conferred on him the surname, Italisky, upon the occasion.

Suwarrow having detached his right wing, and given it in charge to Melas, to keep his eye on the movements of the Republican army, preserving its advanced posts on the Appenine mountains, took the route to Asti with the centre division of his army, to prevent the junction of Championnet's army with that of the deceased Joubert, or to force him to form it beyond the Alps, if he could not prevent it, and compel him to abandon the Ligurian Republic. These movements were intended to forward the siege af Coni, which the delectable nature of the season rendered it necessary to forward.

In the mean time the citadel of Tortona submitted to a capitulation, on the proviso that the place should not be given up to the Combined Powers till the expiration of ten days, from the date of its surrender, unless it should be relived during that period. Every day now rendered the situation of Genoa more alarming; and Klenau, who had made himself master of Fort St. Maria, and Sistri-di-Li-vante, proceeded on that side, while Admiral Nelson blockaded the port. In this situation of affairs a real famine was experienced by the inhabitants; but the

French did not abandon this interesting and unfortunate city during the wars in Italy, which was at once the prey of the conquerors and the ultimate resource of the conquered. The Bochetta continued free from depredations, and the entrenched situation of the French army in the Ligurian Republic remained unbroken. General Klenau was eager to attack Recco, under favour of the British squadron, but he was obliged to yield to the superior prowess of General Miolis, who protected Genoa on the East, between the territory of Bobbio and the sea. Moreau was personally present in this action, supporting the divison of Miolis with 1,500 men; the right wing of General Klenau was turned by the heights of Toriglia. Moreau engaged him in flank, while General Miolis marched against him in front. Klenau was compelled to retreat upon the mountains beyond Reppalo, after he had sustained a considerable loss.

The Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy, sent as many troops as he could possibly spare towards the Col de Tende, by the valley of Barcelonette, with a design to make a diversion in favour of Coni and Fenestrelles, which were blockaded by the Combined Powers; his left wing being extended on the greater and lesser Mount Cenis, and Tarantin on little St. Bernard, and the valley of Aost.

The important trust comitted to Suwarrow was equally arduous with that of Prince Charles in Switzerland, opposed as he was to the skill and courage of an active, enterprising enemy. On the 1st of September the centre of the army was at Asti; his left at Novi, defended Tortona, and its posts reached within sight of the Bochetta. His right wing extended towards the Po, near Turin, and the other posts were reinforced which guarded the entrances to the valleys of the Alps. Championnet, in the meantime, carried on a war of posts with remarkable activity, one of which made its entrance into Suse, 29 miles West-north-west of Turin; a second got possession of

the town and valley of Asti, compelling the Imperial troops to fall back to the fort of Bard, situated on the Dora river, 39 miles North by West of Turin. While it seemed to be his intention to attack on the side of Coni, and the Col de Tende; he forced a number of important posts, and marched as far as Pignerol, 19 miles South-west of Turin, and 24 South-east of Suse. Moreau having maintained his positions on the side of the Eastern river, in defiance of the efforts of General Klenau, he pushed different detachments as far as Basaluzzo, 10 miles South-east of Alexandria, and 16 North-east of Acqui, and made such preparations as evinced that he was still determined to advance.

Such was the state of things when the affairs of Switzerland obliged the Commander-in-Chief to send reinforcements to that quarter. The first column of the Russians began its march on the 8th of September, under General Rosenberg, who took the route by Novarra, intending to pass St. Gothard, by the way of Bellinzone. It is probable that Moreau had previous notice of this movement, for he left his position the next day, at the head of 25,000 men, divided into three columns, the first of which was directed against Acqui, and the two others against Novi and Serravalla. Kray proceeded to meet him with his left wing and part of the centre division, when a desperate engagement took place, which ended in the defeat of the Republicans, and Moreau was obliged to resume his former positions. The citadel of Tortona surrendered to Suwarrow on the 11th of September, who, having publicly expressed his gratitude to the Austrian generals, set out for Switzerland with the Russian rear-guard. When Tortona surrendered, Kray marched his whole army from Basaluzzo, where he covered the siege, marched against Alexandria, and afterwards upon Coni. The main body of the army under Melas, consisting of 35 battalions and five regiments of cavalry, assembled on the 9th at Bra, upon the Stura, because it was a position

extremely centrical between the Alps and Appenines, calculated to stop the career of Championnet, and prevent his junction with Moreau, which he was seriously meditating.

Championnet was in the vicinity of Pignerol, when the troops sent towards Suse marched against Turin, to the amount of 7,000 men; the left of the French army of the Alps took the route from Aost to Ivrea on the Dora, where the Austrian General, Haddic, was stationed, forming the right wing of the Imperial army. By these movements he menaced Turin, and the Austrian right flank, for which reason he marched in force to the entrance of the valley of the Stura, near Staffardi. On the 14th and 15th various engagements took place, before Fossano and Savigliano, when General Gotlensheim, with his advanced guard of 6,000 men, was forced to abandon these two important posts; but Championnet had not long retained the possession of them when he was obliged to give them up.

When Championnet was no more than a single day's march from effecting a junction with Moreau, General Kray, who had collected his whole forces at Bra, proceeded to give battle to the French army, which had advanced too far, and was almost insulated. The camp at Bra was broken up on the 18th of September, when Kray, with his left wing, marched towards Fossano, and Melas, with the second division, was to act against Savigliano, who commenced the action, and it was retaken by the right wing. Fossano was abandoned, during the night, by the French, who retreated to Maira, with considerable loss. General Bellegarde, repulsed, on the side of Rivoli, nine miles West of Turin, was supported by Kaim and Vukassowich, who compelled the French to retreat to Suse.

Since Moreau's retreat to Savona, 72 miles South-east-by-east of Turin, and his endeavours to free Tortona,

no operation of importance had taken place on the side of Genoa. In this manner did Kray defend and secure the march of the Russian troops, who were making the utmost expedition to gain the pass of St. Gothard, by the route formerly mentioned.

Championnet now left the command of the Army of the Alps to General Duhere, and proceeded to receive from Moreau the chief command of the Army of Italy, which was to be considered as united to the Army of the Alps. Before Moreau set out for Paris, to which place he was ordered to repair, he addressed his army in an animated speech, and paid them many handsome compliments for their heroism and intrepidity and their laudable patience and perseverance, in spite of every trouble or calamity.

The total of Suwarrow's army in Italy, did not exceed 20,000, although it had received a reinforcement of about 10,000 men in the beginning of July. The army on its march was joined at Mount Cenere, on the 15th of September, by Suwarrow, who made every necessary preparation for an attack upon St. Gothard, and to effect a junction with the Imperial commanders Auffenberg and Jellachich, who were masters of the frontiers of the Grisons and the small cantons, opposite to the advanced guards of General Lecourbe.

THE END OF CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER V.

The French enter Francfort and levy Contributions....The Archduke takes the Command of the Army in Germany.... Expedition to Holland, under the Duke of York and Sir Ralph Abercrombie...Various Engagements between the English and Dutch Troops....Surrender of the Dutch Fleet to the English....Great Exertions of the Dutch to reinforce their Army....The Duke of York detained from joining the Expedition by contrary Winds....General Dumonceau defeated by the English.

WHILST General Suwarrow intending to overwhelm the army of Massena on the Southern frontier of Switzerland, the French were about to make a very powerful diversion to relieve him on the North, by a new invasion of Germany. The troops destined to constitute the Army of the Rhine, were to be commanded by General Moreau, but were under General Muller, until the arrival of that officer. Muller fixed his head quarters at Manheim on the 25th of August, his advanced guard taking the route to Heidelberg and Schewetzingen. He issued a manifesto to his army, ordering them to have a sacred regard to property, which, in that unhappy country, had been too often violated; and this was followed by another, addressed to the inhabitants, urging them to confine themselves to their houses, and beware of taking up arms against the Republicans, if they expected to find them friends. He then proceeded to Schewetzingen, and from thence to Wisloch, and forced the hussars, under General Szeckler to abandon Heidelberg, of which he instantly took possession.

Baraguy d'Hillers, with the left wing of the army of the Rhine, marched from Mentz; its first division proceeded to Frankfort, and the second to Aschaffenburg. The division before Frankfort took possession of the gate

and outposts, when the Republican commander insisted on a considerable quantity of clothing being delivered up to him, which he knew was intended for the Austrian army. Baraguy d'Hilliers imposed upon the city a contribution of 528,000 livres; after which he crossed the Maine, and, penetrating into the country of Darmstadt, he arrived at Heidelberg on the 1st of September, where he formed a junction with the troops of General Muller. Having united their forces, they pushed their advanced guards as far as Heilbron; but the dragoons under La Tour coming in sight, to co-operate with Szeckler's hussars, resisted the French, who were obliged to retreat, after they had either carried off or destroyed the magazines.

As soon as the Archduke was informed of the movements of the Republicans in Swabia, he sent, the 27th of August, eight battalions of Austrian infantry from Schaffhausen, part of whom took the route to Villengen, and the remainder by the way of the Brisgaw. This aid was rendered more important by the rising of the peasants and the *land-sturm*, to which they had been strongly invited by the manifesto of the Elector of Mentz, who exhorted them to defend their own houses against the common enemy. The Baron d'Albini put himself at the head of the *land-sturm*; and the armed peasants uniting with the Austrian troops, defeated a body of Republicans in the vicinity of Seligenstadt. The Elector allowed them the pay of field soldiers, which he promised to continue till the situation of the Imperial army should render it prudent to disband them. They were mixed with the infantry and cavalry of the line, in the ratio of ten to one, to be instructed in the military art.

By this means the Austrians received such auxiliary force as they had formerly solicited in vain; and the courage of the country people was now as great as their terror had been on a former occasion, and produced about 30,000 men, a greater number than it was thought necessary to employ. Baron d'Albini intimated to the

commandant of Mentz, that if he permitted any of the German National Guards to be shot, he would certainly retaliate upon all those whom the chances of war might throw in his way. This new raised army took its route across the Maine at Francfort, got possession of the banks of the river, and menaced the city of Mentz.

The territory of the Landgrave of Darmstadt was considered as neutral, and therefore respected, while, in his turn, he was faithful to his stipulations and strengthened the garrison of Darmstadt to preserve that neutrality. The French did not confine their threatenings to the inhabitants who had taken up arms against them, for they poured their vengeance on different villages, and laid Sinzheim in ashes. Muller having mustered his troops on the 3rd of September at Schweitzingen, found he had 18,000 men, with whom he invested Philipsburgh, and commanded a bridge of boats to be transported from Mentz, to preserve his communications and secure his retreat. On the 7th, he began to bombard Philipsburgh, which was defended by the Rhingrave of Salm and an Austrian garrison.

The presence of the Archduke was now necessary to check these new inroads; he, therefore, resigned the command of the army in Switzerland to General Hotze, and relieved a body of troops, entrenched at Zurich, by a division of Russians. General Massena took advantage of the retrogade movements of the Allies on the lake of Zurich and Wallenstadt, by pressing closely on their left wing; he again attacked the Swiss legions at Wallinshoffen, under M. de Roverea; but the engagement between the advanced post was productive of little advantage to either party. Soult and Molitor assaulted the posts of the enemy at Uznach and Glaris, and secured for themselves more advantageous positions. The Archduke's army, now under Hotze, did not alter its position at Zurich, although the rear was thus threatened, but persevered in its movements by the right flank, and

passed the Rhine with a strong body, a part of which proceeded forward on the side of the Brisgaw.

Prince Charles fixed his head-quarters at Donawschingen on the 4th of September, from whence General Stzarray had proceeded to the relief of Philipsburg. This was designed to protect Swabia, and check the progress of the French army on the right side of the Rhine; but, though the Allies had been so successful during the campaign, they were incapable of rising above the narrow spirit that had been fatal to them during the whole war; instead of sending new supplies to meet the increased exertions of the French, it was their make-shift policy to strengthen one frontier by weakening another. General Kray received orders to retrograde with the division under his command—this, with the Russian auxilliaries in Switzerland, those of the Prince of Condé, and the Imperial army under the Archduke in Swabia, altogether, formed a powerful barrier on the Rhine; but it was obtained by sacrificing the hopes that had been entertained on the side of Italy, for the forces of Melas were scarcely able to make a stand, much less to act offensively against the increasing French army. From no part of this petty policy could the wise men of Downing-street be excused; they had projected an expedition to take Holland; but, instead of generously advancing with the Allies, whilst they were yet able to make good their ground, the English first suffered their friends to be exhausted, and then, from a sense of mere shame, contributed their feeble help at the moment when it was too late to be useful. The grand expedition was concerted between England and Russia; the chief command was given to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Twelve battalions and some troops of cavalry were collected at Southampton; and this force was soon augmented with *such rapidity*, that this *secret* expedition was known to be destined for the invasion of Holland long before the sailing of the troops. It was probably impossible to keep this affair

altogether a secret; but it was so well known to the French government before it was ripe for execution, that it was *public* with them while it was called *secret* with the English: the principal points of attack were, however, well concealed. The chief station of the transports for conveying the troops seemed to menace Zealand, the entrances of the Meuse and Scheldt, while it was presumed, on the other hand, that the Russians would make an assault upon West Friesland, and the province of Groningen, making their entrance by the Weser, and the Ems. This was conjectured from the great distance of the Russians, their tedious navigation, the great consequence of making a diversion on the opposite side, and the Eastern provinces, as these were considered to be best affected towards the re-establishment of the Stadtholder.

This opinion was confirmed from the forming of magazines at Bremen, and causing the officers of the ci-devant government of Holland to meet at Lingen. Every advantage might have accured from this state of uncertainty, if those who took the management of the Anglo-Russian forces had been capable of improving them; for, as the power of the Batavian government was truly insignificant, and even that must necessarily be divided, the whole coast was equally open to the invader, and the most populous part of the country was evidently that which would give opportunity to the greatest number of the people to join the standard of the Stadtholder. Other considerations took the lead upon the occasion. The remnant of the Dutch fleet still lay in the Texel, which would, probably, betray its trust, could the British force the passage, reduce it to its own exertions, and detach it from the protection of the batteries. Admiral Mitchell, in the beginning of August, set sail from the Downs with about 130 transports under his command, which had on board the first division of the army.

The second was commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, having the designation of General-

issimo conferred upon him; but it was to remain at Margate till news arrived of General Abercrombie's landing at the destined port. This army to be commanded by the Duke of York, amounted to 45,000 men, including British and Russians. The naval force of the Dutch, at that period, consisted of nine sail of the line, under Rear-admiral Story, and lay at anchor in the Texel. Not more than 20,000 forces could be levied, without the greatest difficulty, by the Dutch government; and France had been obliged to neglect the defence of Holland by the vast reinforcements which were required by the armies of the Rhine and Switzerland. Brune was their Commander-in-chief, authorised by the Batavain government to take this office upon him by virtue of the treaty between the two Republics. He provided at first for the defence of Zealand, as he expected the attack on that quarter. Dændels and Dumonceau were charged by him with the defence of the coasts of Holland and the Eastern provinces, while he kept a body of troops in reserve for the protection of such points as might be occasionally menaced.

Contrary winds retarded the progress of Admiral Mitchell, and some of his vessels were separated from the convoy: but it is not known whether the tempest was the cause, or whether they were intended to deceive as to the real point of attack, they only appeared on the coast of Zealand, Groningen, and East Friesland; but the British fleet, on the 19th of August, appeared on the coast of North Holland. A summons was next day sent to Admiral Story, by Lord Duncan, who had joined the squadron under Admiral Mitchell, commanding him to surrender, and acknowledge the Prince of Orange the lawful supreme of that country; to set an example of submission before his squadron, which would, undoubtedly, be followed by every man under his command; to hoist the Orange flag, and join the squadron belonging to Great Britain. He was assured that 20,000 men had

landed at the Helder, but he refused to comply. A summons, of a similar purport, was sent by General Abercrombie to the officer who commanded at the Helder, which was also received with indignation.

The British experinced adverse winds till the 26th of August, when the fleet came to anchor between the mouth of the Texel and Calants-org, consisting of 15 sail of the line, about 50 frigates, and 130 transports. Protected by the cannon of the fleet, General Abercrombie landed his grenadiers next morning, together with his light infantry. General Daendels having united his whole forces at the Great Keten, seven miles and a half South-west of the Helder, marched directly towards the Northen Sands, lying on the South of Huysduynen, and, when the British troops were on their march to this place, a severe engagement took place between the contending parties. Colonel Luch was killed upon the spot, during which period the remainder of Daendel's division, the 5th demi-brigade, a regiment of cavalry, and a part of the artillery came forward, in constant succession, and took a decided part in the action. The British vanguard was successful, from the constant reinforcements it received; and the Dutch battalion of Herbig, which charged with the bayonet, was taken in flank by the British light infantry. This battle continued till four in the afternoon, when the loss of the British was about 1,000 men, killed and wounded; however, the Dutch had every advantage on their side, by fighting on the sandy and unequal ground of the downs, with which they were well acquainted.

For two days after this, Daendels maintained his position, his left wing being stationed at Petten, his right at Keten, and his centre at Zand. His forces, including the garrison of the Helder, did not amount to 8,000 men, and he fell back, on the 30th of August, to Avenhorn, his left wing behind Petten, and his centre at Schermer-

hoorne, by which means he could easily receive reinforcements from the French and Dutch troops, which, by forced marches, were coming from every quarter towards North Holland.

Brune, now no longer apprensive of attack either in South Holland or Zealand, arrived at Alkmaer on the 2nd of September, and stationed himself to the left of the line. General Abercrombie in the meantime having gained the Helder Point, and completed the disembarkation of his troops, entrenched his advanced posts, and his left wing occupied the Helder Point, together with the batteries, which the Dutch had abandoned. The British at the the same time got the command of the Texel, forcing Admiral Story to shift his anchorage and retire to the Vlieter, to be out of the reach of the hostile fleet. As a considerable part of the British convoy and frigates came to an anchor in the Texel on the 29th of August, Admiral Story, taking advantage of the favourable wind, determined to give them chase, or totally destroy them; in this situation of affairs, a spirit of disobedience was discovered on board the Washington, under the pretext that it was the intention of the Admiral to blow them up. The powder room was in possession of the Orangists during the night, and, though an exemplary punishment was inflicted on a few individuals, it was sufficient to reduce them to obedience.

The British fleet entered the Texel, while the wind and tide favoured the movements of Admiral Mitchell, who soon got possession of the Vlieter anchorage, to which Admiral Story had retired. Thus situated, the Dutch commander craved a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time to receive the *ultimatum* of the Batavian Government. Admiral Mitchell, on board the Isis frigate, answered the Dutch admiral by a positive command to hoist the Orange flag. Story gave the signal to prepare for an engagement, when, to his mortification, the crew unloaded the cannon, and threw the car-

tridges and balls into the sea. The only captain was Van Scaden, of the La Batave, who was able to affirm that his men were in a state of subordination, and that he would defend himself to the last extremity, if the Admiral would set the example. Story declared himself and all his officers prisoners of war, after speaking in the most indignant terms of his different crews, and protesting his inviolable attachment to the prosperity of the Republic.

The Orange flag was hoisted on board the Dutch fleet two days after it floated from the batteries of the Texel and the Helder. Independent of the fleet which surrendered to Admiral Mitchell, three sail of the line, five frigates, and five East Indiamen, together with the whole of the stores and artillery, were captured in the Nieuve Diep, an inlet from the Texel, on the East of the Helder, running into the sands, that are overflowed at high tide and dry at low, the length about five miles and a half. The disaffection of the Batavian fleet was not unknown to that government, from which General Abercrombie inferred that they would be disposed to negotiate with him for the Prince of Orange, before the arrival of the French forces; on which account he requested a passport for General Don, from General Daendels, as plenipotentiary to the Hague. This was refused, and the British commander was desired to transmit his sentiments in writing. The Batavian Government sent a deputation to Brune, at Alkmaer, declaring their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity, a resolution which was supported by fresh assurances from the French Directory, of speedy and effectual succours.

When the British forces were landed, General Brune directed all the troops under his command to proceed to Alkmaer by the way of Haerlem, and active measures were adopted for protecting Amsterdam on the side of the Zuyder-Zee. On the 3rd of September the troops under General Dumonceau marched through Amsterdam, while all the troops on the side of the Hague, on the

West coasts, and at the entrance of the Meuse, also filed off towards Alkmaer, by the way of Egmont. The inhabitants of every village appeared in arms; and, when requisitions were made for two, three, or 500 men, the complement generally raised amounted to 1,000; and in some places every individual capable of bearing arms joined the army of North Holland; all this was, however, nothing more than would have taken place if the whole of the inhabitants had been desirous of joining the Orange standard. While these reinforcements were collecting, the British army marched forward and posted themselves in the Zyp, a very low and intersected ground, about nine miles in extent from North-north-west to South-south-west, protected by a dyke on the coast, behind which they entrenched themselves.

General Brune, in order to concentrate his forces, ordered the Batavian and French divisions to change their situation by their left, and take a position before Alkmaer, pushing their advanced posts to Schorel and Groet, as near as possible to the sea and the advanced-guard of the British army. The troops from England, had received no reinforcements, except about 5,000 men, under General Don, from the divison of the Duke of York; for the Russian troops had not been met at sea by those who were sent to direct them to steer for the Texel; they shaped their course for Yarmouth, and were there detained, for some time, by contrary winds; and the greater part of the cavalry, together with the Duke of York, were detained, for a similar reason. General Abercrombie had about 17,000 men in his entrenchments behind the dyke on the West of the Zyp, while Brune found his army had increased to 25,000; for this reason, Abercrombie was afraid to hazard a general engagement, till he could unite with the Russian troops. About this time General Vandamme came from Brussels, and Kellerman announced that reinforcements were on their way from the Low Countries.

The column of the Republican troops proceeded towards Petten by the way of Groet and Camp, where it carried the entrenched pots, and arrived on the heights of Dubbel-duyn. The British forces were powerfully protected by two brigs and two frigates, while stationed behind the head or North-east end of the Zyp Dyke, where they had erected strong redoubts. The dyke was turned by the French, who found themselves exposed, in consequence of this movement, to a tremendous fire. The French sustained a serious loss, but nevertheless, retreated, and defended themselves in Petten, which, however, they abandoned in the afternoon, and retired to their original position. The operations of the centre were accompanied with still less success; General Dumonceau took the route to Schoreldam, bordering on the South of the Zyp, and carried the entrenched post at Crabbendam, but found it impracticable to force the entrenchments of the Zyp: some battalions were totally routed, and he was forced to fall back. The right wing marched forward with intrepidity, but was thrown into disorder by the exclamations of the Orangists among the troops, who cried out "Save who can, we are entirely surrounded!"—an exclamation which induced the greater part of Daendel's army to betake themselves to flight. This fruitless endeavour induced the French and Batavian army to resume its former position. The army of the Dutch received fresh reinforcements; and General Brune commanded the authors of the route to be tried by a court martial, and the behaviour of the different officers to be strictly examined.

THE END OF CHAP. V.

CHAPTER VI.

The Duke of York and Hereditary Prince of Orange sail from Yarmouth....Various Engagements and Manœuvres of the hostile Armies....The Anglo-Russians defeated.... Daendels defeated by the British....The Duke of York defeats the Republicans, but is routed at Alkmaer....He signs a Capitulation, and evacuates Holland....The English take Surinam.

ON the day whereon the last-mentioned battle was fought the Duke of York set sail from Yarmouth, with 80 sail of transports. The Hereditary Prince of Orange made a feigned attack on two different points of the frontier of Overyssel, at a distance from one another. He gave a summons to the small fortress of Coevorden, on the frontiers of Bentheim, and marched forward on the side of Arnheim, at the place where the Rhine and Yssel unite their streams. From this place he pushed forward a party of his adherents as far as Wester-Forte, and Yssel-Oort, situated three miles East of Arnheim; but his endeavours were ineffectual, and the manifesto of the Stadtholder did not succeed in procuring the attachment of a single individual. The people, from habit, considered those the government who had possession of the Hague; and they had so fully expected that the first landing of the British would be at Scheveling, within a mile and an half of that place, that they doubted whether His Highness and the invaders had any other object in view than to get possession of the fleet; when they saw, that, instead of going home at once, where there was no obstacle to oppose them, the Prince and his friends went round about at the extremities, where they could neither protect the people, nor be joined by

them. His Highness was attacked and routed by the national guards of Arnheim and Oudenarde; and, having received information of the capture of the Batavian fleet, he set out for Embden, and there embarked, with his officers, to join the army of the Duke of York.

The position which had been occupied by General Abercrombie, and the experiment he had made of his station behind the Zyp, in point of strength, put it in his power to pass strong detachments, for the purpose of obtaining those reinforcements of which he stood in need. The fleet of gun-boats, belonging to Britain, which had made their entrance into the Zuyder Zee, got possession of the town of Modenblick, which gave a considerable degree of uneasiness to the Government for the safety of Amsterdam.

As General Brune waited for reinforcements, and urged the Batavian Government to send the quota of national guards without loss of time, he rested contented with confining General Abercrombie to his strong position—a position in which he found it impracticable to prevent his receiving the Russian auxiliaries and the second division of British troops. The advanced posts of the French and Batavians pushed within musket-shot of the entrenchments, although defended by a number of small dykes. Every day the positions of the hostile parties became more respectable; and on the 15th of September a severe action took place between the advanced posts, inclining towards the centre of the line at Warmanhuysen, of which the British had taken possession, but were now obliged to abandon, by the exertions of General Dumonceau with his grenadiers and infantry. This event happened at the instant when the Duke of York arrived at the Texel, who, having disembarked his troops, united himself with those at Zyp, then making a total of about 22,000 men. Thirteen thousand Russians arrived from Yarmouth about two days after, under General Herman, who had no sooner arrived than he was ordered to take

immediate possession of Petten, on the right of the line.

The Combined Army at this place now made a total of 35,000 men. Similar motives to those which influenced Brune to engage General Abercrombie before the Russians came up, induced his Royal Highness to attack the French army prior to its receiving the reinforcements, which were on their way from the Low Countries and from the Rhine. He made his dispositions with uncommon haste, and the Russian forces were divided between the right wing, where they constituted the head of the column, supported by the British, and the centre, with which they were intermixed. The column of the right, under General Herman, was to fight in opposition to the French column, commanded by Vandamme; Dumonceau headed the centre of the Dutch, and their right was under General Daendels. The centre and left wing of the combined army were under the command of the Duke of York, who detached about 7,000 men, under General Abercrombie, to seize upon Hoorn, and march on the right wing of the Dutch, to surround them at the moment when Brune's left should be defeated by the Russians, and be cut off in this manner from the shore. These manœuvres were intended to flank both wings of Brune's army, and thus force him to abandon his position at Alkmaer. As General Abercrombie found no more than two companies of infanty at Hoorn, he met with no opposition.

On the 19th of September the battle commenced, at the dawn of day, and extended along the whole line. General Herman, with a body of Russians and a division of British forced the advanced posts of the French at Camp, and then pushed forward to surround General Vandamme's division, who was compelled to retreat. The Russians took Schoreldam, and Bergen in a short time after, which was the property of the Prince of Nassau, being surrounded with woods, in which the French con-

centrated themselves, having found it impossible to resist the attack of General Herman, who, by this time, was distant from Alkmaer about half a league. The Russians were now beyond the rear of Brune's centre, while the Duke of York, at the head of a strong division of British forces, and a number of Russians, made preparations for attacking him in front.

During these transactions, General Brune, feeling his situation becoming every moment more critical, dispatched the rear-guard of Dumonceau's division against Bergen, by a bridge of communication on the canal leading to the Zyp, giving orders to General Daendels to draw nearer the centre, which this movement had considerably enfeebled. The Russians having pushed too far, were suddenly attacked on both flanks by Generals Vandamme and Dumonceau, without being able to communicate with the centre of the British. Having surrounded the village of Bergen by the left of General Herman, on the side of the downs, and by his right towards Alkmaer, Vandamme engaged him at the point of the bayonet, and the village was recaptured, after a severe contest. The Russians fought like men in the agonies of despair, and, when totally routed, their remains fought in the church and in dwelling-houses, where the enemy made dreadful havoc of them. Herman's retreat was cut off, himself taken prisoner, and General Essen, the second in command, was dangerously wounded.

General Dumonceau, although wounded at the commencement of the action, maintained his position, but his troops were desperate sufferers, as they sustained the shocks of the British centre, and stoped it from contributing to the aid of the right wing. General Daendels, posted at Oude-Carspel, met with as warm a reception from the British as the left wing had done from the Russians; he conflicted honourably till past noon-day, when he was obliged to abandon his position, with a considera-

ble loss of men and artillery. His division had been weakened by the reinforcements he dispatched to the support of the centre, yet he rallied his forces, and came again into action before the close of the day. He attacked and carried the post of Brock (four miles and a half North-east of Haerlem) and the batteries, of which he had been lately deprived, on the side of Oude-Carspel. As the right wing of the Duke of York experienced a defeat, he caused his left to fall back, being too much extended, and also too weak, after the detachment, under General Abercrombie, had been sent against Hoorn. The general evacuated this place in the night, and the whole of the Combined Army resumed its former position at the Zyp. This retreat enabled General Brune to retake the posts which had been occupied by him before the engagement, and ought to be regarded as the last rational effort of the Anglo-Russians; for the cautious populace, who feared to join the Orange standard till they should see it wave upon the towers of Amsterdam, now lost all confidence in the British commander, and considered the struggle as merely between the French and English.

About 70 gunboats, belonging to the French, having arrived from Dunkirk, by the canals of the Low Countries and Holland, preparations were made for the defence of the Pampus, or entrance from the Zuyder Zee to Amsterdam. The two hostile armies strongly entrenched themselves in their respective positions, and, from the obstacles they threw in the way of each other, became every day more formidable, both continually receiving reinforcements. The Russian rear-guard landed in the Texel, amounting to more than 2,000 men, and a French demi-brigade marched through Amsterdam on its way to Alkmaer, while strenuous exertions were making for increasing the battalions of national guards. Little of importance happened from the battle of Bergen during ten days, in which time the Duke of York strengthened his right wing, which was flanked by the German Ocean on

the West and the towns of Modenblick and Enckhuysen, on the Zuyder Zee, on the left. From these posts different parts of that sea were annoyed by the fleet of gunboats, and the British having got possession of the Lemmer, made a descent upon Friesland, attacked Staveren, and ordered Harderwick to surrender; but these childish efforts were attended with no beneficial consequences.

When the left division of the Russians arrived, the Allies adopted offensive measures; but, as Brune's army was still too weak, he waited for a division from the Low Countries, to be sent him by Kellerman, who was hastening its march towards North Holland; and no exertion was neglected by the Batavian Government to complete its battalions; from these exertions the defensive situation of the French and Dutch was rapidly strengthened. General Brune fortified the entrenchments by which his left was defended, particularly in front of the village of Bergen. This part of his position was made extremely important by the woods, with which it was environed, and the downs by which it was protected and commanded towards the North, in the direction of Schoreldam. The ground extending from the downs to the sea was favourable for the adoption of offensive measures, while it was almost impossible to penetrate his centre and right wing.

The Duke of York made a general attack on the enemy, with his whole forces, on the 2nd of October. As he found it impracticable to perform any military movement by his left wing, or to risk an engagement in the passes, he again made a vigorous effort against the left wing of General Brune; the advanced posts of it, and of the centre of the French and Dutch army, were driven at first from Groet, Kamp, Schorel, and Schoreldam, places all bordering on the South-west of the Zyp. The attack of the Duke of York was in four columns; the right, which was composed of three brigades of infantry, nine squadrons of dragoons, and a detachment of artillery, was commanded by General Abercrombie, and took the di-

rection of the sea-shore. Two columns, nearly of an equal force, and composed of Russians and British, took their route against Bergen, and having taken the road at the foot of the downs of Camp, extended themselves towards the heights; and the fourth column was employed in retarding the progress of General Daendels. When the posts of Schoreldam were carried the battle raged with fury before Bergen, where General Gouvion commanded, who sustained the attack of General Dundas, and resolutely maintained his ground till General Abercrombie drove back as far as Egmont every thing that opposed his march, after passing Bergen, and attempting to turn the position of Alkmaer.

Egmont was defended by Vandamme as well as Bergen had been; but the Republicans in the night were obliged to abandon both places, after as sanguinary a contest as had yet taken place in Holland. With equal success the Allies attacked the centre division of the French and Batavian army at Langdyke and Koe-dyke; some gun-boats, stationed along the canal of Alkmaer, were assisting in the reduction of Schoreldam and the progress of the columns. The Scotch Highlanders acquired distinguished honour on this occasion, for their courage and activity, by fighting in the inundations, and bravely surmounting every obstacle in their way to gain the flank of the opposing enemy. As the left wing of General Brune's army was severely handled by the division under General Abercrombie, and his centre broken, he deemed it necessary to fall back, which he did in good order, taking a position superior to his former one, with his left wing at Wyk-op-zee, and his centre division at Krimman-dyke.

The division under Daendels had not been brought into action, yet he found it necessary to imitate the example of the centre and left, and abandon the position of Brock, Pancras, and Oud Carspel, and to retreat towards Purmerend and Monikendam. The advanced posts were at Limmen, Baccum, Akersloot, and the head-quarters at

Beverwick, seven miles and a half North of Haerlem, and 11 and a half South-south-west of Alkmaer. This station was taken possession of by the British troops on the ensuing day, who pushed forward their advanced posts on a straight line with those of the French and Batavian army, while Brune found means to secure himself in the position he had occupied.

When the British forces accomplished the defeat of the French and Dutch troops they threatened the capture of Amsterdam, from which they were at no great distance, with the left wing of their army. Two days afterwards the contending armies rested, but on the ensuing day the whole of the enemy's line was attacked by the Duke of York. If he viewed it possible to carry the concentrated position of Brune, it was extremely proper to prevent him from taking footing, and the stronger the right wing of the Dutch became by virtue of the inundations, the more interesting it was to push back the body of troops entrenched at Beverwick, 11 miles and a half South-south-west of Alkmaer. Some advantages were acquired by the British and Russian troops in this second attack, for they succeeded in carrying Akersloot, five miles South of Alkmaer, and proceeded as far as Castricum; but in this action, the fortune of war was suddenly changed, Brune seized a favourable moment to charge the enemy at the head of his cavalry, when he broke the line of the British and Russians, who could neither grant any mutual assistance, nor maintain the ground they had already acquired. With very considerable loss they were driven beyond Baccum; and this charge made by Brune, who had two horses killed under him, contributed in a high degree to the success of the day. The battle raged till the evening, and the united army of the French and Dutch resumed its position at Beverwick. The Duke of York then called a council of war, when it was agreed that the army should fall back upon the Zyp, and there wait the *ultimatum* of his Britannic Majesty, which, all

circumstances considered, was expected to be the evacuation of North Holland. The advanced state of the season prevented a change of operations, and the navigation of the roads of the Texel was become so dangerous as no longer to admit the sailing of transports; and the vast expenses, with which this expedition was attended, was not likely to be counterbalanced by any equivalent advantage.

Enekhuysen and Modenblick, were abandoned by the Anglo-Russian army, where they destroyed the dock-yards, the marine establishments, the East India company's vessels, and whatever public property came in their way. The ships of war and their crews, that had surrendered, were all sent to England. The troops retreated in tolerable order, but, for want of carriages, were obliged to leave behind them a part of their wounded. While they were entrenched at the Zyp, the division of Daendels closed upon their left wing, annoyed their rear-guard, and took possession of the posts which they were obliged to abandon. General Dumonceau kept up a communication with Daendels, whose troops proceeded as far as Suydwinkel, and gained possession of the Zeedyke, in which the British had made an opening of 19 feet—a means of defence they were obliged to take on this desperate occasion. The French and Batavian army occupied a position near the Zyp, the left wing being stationed before Petten, the centre at Warmanhuysen, and the right before Suyd-Winkel.

In this relative situation of the contending armies, the Duke of York sent a flag of truce to General Brune, and proposed to capitulate on the footing of an armistice, or the free retreat and re-embarkation of his troops. Generals Knox and Rostollan were empowered to negotiate, and drew up the articles of capitulation.

Such was now the situation of the British army in the Batavian Republic, that it was even doubted whether the troops of Great Britain and her Allies would be granted a

free embarkation, till the official dispatches of the Duke of York dissipated the gloom which hung over the public mind. On the 20th of October his Royal Highness wrote from Schagen Brug, that hostilities had ceased, and that articles of capitulation had been mutually agreed to by the contending powers, by virtue of which, the troops of Russia and Britain were to be permitted to return to their respective countries without any molestation. Those terms were procured by the foresight of the Duke of York, who had taken care to keep possession of the dykes, which would have enabled them to have indundated the country in case of extremities.

It was granted by this treaty, that the mounted batteries, which had been captured by the Combined Forces, included in the line they occupied at the time of signing the capitulation, should be restored, in their original or improved state, and the Batavian artillery preserved entire which they might be found to contain. The British and Russian troops agreed to evacuate the whole territories of the Batavian Republic by the 30th of November, 1799, without being guilty of any acts of devastation, cruelty, or plunder. Eight thousand prisoners, French and Dutch, taken prior to the present campaign, and particularly comprehending Admiral de Winter, were to be, unconditionally, returned to their respective countries; the selection of the prisoners to be agreed on by the two Republics. The loss of the British and Russians was estimated at 15,000 killed and wounded.

Thus ended an expedition, not less contemptible on account of its inadequacy for its object than for the season in which it was undertaken, and the manner in which it was conducted. Instead of landing whilst the French cabniet was distracted, it was delayed till the new Directory had collected its strength, and then, instead of carrying a force sufficient to encourage the people it proposed to aid, the troops landed by driblets, just time enough to meet the French reinforcements as they arrived to re[illegible]e

them; and, to complete the folly, instead of their going to Scheveling, or the Meuse, where they might have seized the Government and been joined by the people, they got into a corner, where it was impossible for any person to follow them without declaring himself a rebel and a traitor to the existing rulers.

To counterbalance this disgraceful affair, it must not be forgotten, that the last of the Dutch colonies, of any value in South America,—Surinam, fell into the hands of the English, on the 19th of August, in a manner similar to the surrender of their fleet in the Texel, without the shadow of opposition. This war in Holland had so perplexed the Directory of France, that it could not send such assistance to the Rhine as was necessary to carry on offensive measures.

THE END OF CHAP. VI.

CHAPTER VII.

Various Successes of the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles....Russia declares War against Spain....Suwarrow enters Switzerland....Death of General Hotze....Various Successes of the French in Switzerland....They take Zurich Sword in Hand, and advance rapidly....The Allies defeated, near Altorf, with great Slaughter, and repeatedly beaten afterwards....The Allies retreat.

MULLER having retreated from Heilbron, was reinforced by detachments from the different garrisons in the neighbourhood: however, he could not raise above 20,000 men; a force insufficient to maintain its ground before the superior army of the Archduke, who was on his march against him. The retreat of Prince Charles from Switzerland, with the principal part of the Austrian army, had not been productive of the designed effects, and Massena found it impracticable to derive the advantages he expected from the successes of Chabran and Lecourbe against the centre and left wing of the Combined Army. As the Archduke seemed to meditate the turning of the left wing of the Republican army between Brisach and Basil, Massena was kept in a state of uncertainty, which prevented him from either attacking the advanced posts of General Hotze, or the left flank and rear of the Austro-Russian army, without running the hazard of being himself cut off from the right wing of his army.

The main body of the Austrian army which was, on the 11th of September, encamped between Echterdingen and Waldensbruch, persevered in its forced marches. The advanced guard of Nauendorf, and the division under General Stzarray, had already sent their light troops against the advanced posts of the Republicans, who had

abandoned Bruchsal, and raised the siege of Philipsburg. For two days prior to this period, they had endeavoured to scale the entrenchments of Rhinesheim and Wiesenthal, but were defeated with considerable loss by the Rhinegrave of Salm, and the town was relieved which he had so gallantly defended. The bombardment of Philipsburg lasted five days and five nights, during which time, it was reduced to a heap of ruins, with the exception of a very few houses. It is supposed that no bombardment had ever been so dreadful since the commencement of the war.

Muller evacuated Heidelberg on the 15th of September, and encamped before Manheim, on the North side of the Neckar river, after he had sent his artillery and baggage beyond the Rhine. The troops divided when they reached the left side of the river Rhine; 6,000 men going North, by the way of Mentz, while another division took the route Southward to Spires and Germersheim, five miles West by South of Philipsburgh. A rear-guard of 6,000 men, under General Laroche, continued entrenched at Manheim, and in such works as had either been repaired or imperfectly erected. With uncommon diligence the Archduke collected about 25,000 men in the plains of the Neckar on the 16th of September, marching, in person, to Seckinheim, and began an attack on the enemy with the forces commanded by Stzarry and Kospeth. These were driven back at the commencement of the action; but a second assault with the battalions of grenadiers decided the contest; and a redoubt on the right side of the Neckar was carried, and all the remaining entrenchments at that place.

As the artillery of the Austrians had taken advantageous positions from the commencement of the attack, on the banks of the river, which had the command of the bridge of boats, the Republicans found it impossible to make good their retreat; the gates of the town of Seckenheim were forced open, and more than one half of Laroche's

division were made prisoners of war, after having lost nearly the whole of the remainder. Successful at this place, the Archduke proceeded to Schwetzingen, than which no place was ever more frequently taken and retaken by the contending powers during the whole course of the war. Both sides of the Main below Francfort were now in the possession of the Archduke. The headquarters of the landsturm, or the militia, which were furnished by the Electorate of Mentz, was at Hochst; and the utmost exertions were employed to hasten the arrival of pontoons, and great preparations were making, with a view to cross the Rhine, the Archduke being employed in collecting the Austrian army and that of the Empire, computed to amount to about 60,000 men.

The Republicans on the lower Rhine, with equal activity and zeal, caused the detachments to fall back upon Ehrenbreitstein in that quarter, which had formerly advanced as far as Weilburg and Wetzlaer. As it appeared uncertain at what place his Royal Highness would attempt to force the passage of the Rhine; and as Muller could not comprehend his designs, he circumscribed his operations by the protection of Mentz, fixed his headquarters at Dorkheim, 18 miles South-east of Mentz, and declined all communication with the posts on the right side of the river.

The confidence of the Allies seemed to derive new vigour from the zealous support that the coalition received from the Emperor of Russia. During these transactions, he published a declaration of war against Spain, as an ally of France. It was no doubt his object to restore the old monarchy, by the assistance he rendered to the coalition, and the hostilities he carried on against every government friendly to France. The assistance given by Spain, was the ostensible reason for his declaration of hostilites against the court of Madrid, in which he maintained that, in conjunction with his Allies, he would not

cease to act against the French Republic till he had effected its overthrow.

Denmark, also, about this period, had likewise incurred the displeasure of the Emperor; for which reason, every vessel belonging to his Danish Majesty's subjects was ordered to quit the ports of Russia. Denmark so far yielded to the wishes of the Emperor as to circumscribe the liberty of the press; and all those were to be banished who should write against a monarchical government. Sweden went farther still, and, on the requisition of the Emperor, joined the combination against France, at least in appearance. But the King of Spain was not so near a neighbour: he answered Paul's manifesto with less pliancy, —he would always endeavour to maintain the alliance he had formed with the French Republic, and considered the object of the coalition to be an insatiable thirst for dominion, and a desire to tyrannise over every nation that would not accede to its ambitious views. He declared, that Russia had always been most forward in the exercise of this horrid opinion, whose emperors had frequently assumed titles to which they had no rational claim; and, finally, that the court of Spain would not degrade itself so much as to notice the incoherent and insolent language of the Russian manifesto.

Whilst the Allies were struggling with such unequal success in Holland and Germany, events of not less magnitude took place in Switzerland. Suwarrow gained the post of Airolo, at the entrance of St. Gothard, on the 17th of September, having passed the difficult valley of the Levantine, and the next day got possession of the pass of St. Gothard. Auffenberg descended by the Maderanerthal, or valley of Maderaner, with the troops under his command, Northward into the valley of the Russ, in order to join Suwarrow at Steig. The entrance of this old warrior into Switzerland was admirably executed, and his success was the more remarkable, as his officers and

men had lately been in Italy, and were not much acquainted with fighting among mountains.

Hotze had the command of the Austrian troops in Switzerland, consisting of 29 battalions, and four regiments of cavalry. Having been obliged to evacuate Glaris and Nessels, or Naffels, by superior numbers, he took an advantageous position behind the Linth, between Vesen and Utznach, having his head-quarters at Kaltbrun, while his left wing covered the entrance into the Grisons. The Russians extended in a North-west direction as far as Baden, from Utznach along the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, a distance of about 36 miles. General Turreau, with a division of Massena's army, was posted on the right of Vallais; Lecourbe was stationed at St. Gothard, before the arrival of Suwarrow; Soult was at Glaris with his division, reaching as far as Adlitwill; General Martin's division from that place to Dietikon, and that of General Lorges from thence to Baden. The Republican army from St. Gothard to Baden amounted to 64,000 men, exclusive of 8,000 in the Vallais, and 6,000 in Basil on the Rhine, both at a distance from the scene of action. After the arrival of Suwarrow the Combined Army amounted to about 80,000 men.

In the meantime Lecourbe had gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and Massena pressed with vigour upon their left wing, that he might the more effectually attack their centre. Lecourbe advanced to turn every position by the valley of the Grisons which defended the line of General Hotze. In this manner the Republican chief gradually prepared for a general action; and the news of Suwarrow's progress made him accelerate his plans, to prevent the enemy from executing the same designs on his right wing in the North-west of Switzerland, which he was meditating against the left of the Combined Army in the South-east. The position of Hotze was highly advantageous, and therefore Massena determined, if possible, to force him to abandon it at the com-

mencement of the battle, with a view of cutting off his communication with General Jellachich, and of preventing his junction with Suwarrow, by the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris. To facilitate the execution of these objects, Massena feigned a variety of movements in the Frickthal and on the Aar; and, after he had engaged the attention of the Allies by a pretended attack against Bruck, on the Aar, General Lorges was commanded to pass the Limmat above Baden, and engage the Russians on the oppofite bank.

The division commanded by Mortier, and the reserve, under Klein, marched on to the heights of Regespurg, Westward of Zurich, and made their attack in front. At the instant the action was to commence, Soult was ordered to cross the Limmat, and come to an engagement with the advanced posts of the Imperialists. The impetuosity of this attack threw Hotze into consternation; when, having learned that the French had passed the Limmat, he mounted his horse, and, with a few officers in his train, proceeded towards the advanced posts, in order to reconnoitre between Schennis and Kaltbrun, where his temerity proved fatal to him, for his party was surrounded, and he himself remained dead on the field of battle. This was a serious loss to the Combined Powers in their present situation, as his skill was equal to his courage, and his death gave as much pain to the Allies as the fall of Joubert had formerly done to the Republicans. Born at Zurich, he was intimately acquainted with that difficult country, and might be said to have perished almost at his own home.

The advantages at first acquired by the Republicans were ardently followed up, and with their usual perseverance. They gained possession of the bridge of Grinaw, at the fort of the Brunberg, and entrance of the Linth into the Lake of Zurich. This post was retaken by the Prince of Wirtemberg, but he was unable to maintain it against the assaults of the French, after the loss of Gene-

ral Hotze. The Prince's division was defeated by Soult, who forced it to retreat by the Goldiner Thal, into the Toggenburg. The left wing, under Petrasch, after the fall of Hotze, was thus separated from the centre, and the left flank and rear were unprotected. Equally successful were the attacks of the French against Zurich, for every post was carried by General Lorges, the camp of the Russians was forced, and themselves driven back to the walls of Zurich. Mortier and Klein carried the Western heights with uncommon bravery; and the Russians defended them with such obstinate fury, that the number of slain was prodigious. The Republicans were victorious, and gained possession of the whole of the enemy's baggage and artillery. The rear guard, blockaded in Zurich, refused to surrender, which place was carried by the French, sword in hand. After this, Prince Korsakow retreated towards Eglisau and Shaffhausen, by the way of Bulach and Winterthur.

The Republicans being now masters of Zurich, both sides of the lake, and the course of the Glatt, continued their pursuit of the Russians and Austrians on the East of St. Gall, on the North by Schaffhausen; nor were the Allies capable of rallying, or of taking any positions on the Thur, but were forced to cross the Rhine, and place the Lake of Constance between them and the victorious Republicans. The French advanced guard took possession of the towns of Constance and Peterhausen. Suwarrow, in the mean time, forced back the troops of Gaudin as far as Altorf, but his career was stopped by the troops under Loison and others, who had been detached for that purpose, by Lecourbe. He intended to penetrate the right wing of the French army, to march into the canton of Zurich, by the valley of the Linth, and, having compelled the left wing of Massena to fall back, to collect before him the two corps which had previously been defeated. This project was deemed interesting by Suwarrow, as appears from a letter he sent to the commander

of the Russian troops, who had been obliged to abandon Zurich. "You shall answer with your head if you make another retrograde step: I am coming to repair your errors."

As it appeared manifest to Massena, that the wing of Lecourbe could not sustain the shock of Suwarrow's army, combined with the troops of Jellachich and Auffenberg, he set out to assist him with 15,000 men. Mortier was ordered against Schwitz, Soult was to attack Vesen, and he himself marched in person to attack Altorf. Marshal Linken obtained some advantages to the left of the lake of Wallenstadt, took two Republican battalions, and attempted to favour the movements of Suwarrow by the centre; but, finding it impracticable to carry on a communication either with his right or left wing, he was forced to withdraw into the Grisons. Suwarrow penetrared no farther than Brunnen, two miles South-west of Schwitz, when it appeared to him that he had ventured too far, and was determined not to hazard a general action. The lower valley of Glaris, the passage between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, were entirely shut against him; and had he pushed forward to Einsidlin, he would have found it impossible to avoid the snare which was laid for him by Massena, who, by surrounding his left flank, could have cut off his retreat from the country of the Grisons.

The Allies did not accomplish this retreat without great loss, owing to the difficulty of the passes across the mountains, and the rapid movements of their pursuers. Their rear-guard was nearly cut to pieces, by the troops which Massena marched against Altorf; and their wounded, the number of which was immense, could not be transported. Almost the whole of their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Russian general narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. It was reasonable to infer that this final attempt of Suwarrow to effect a junction of the two armies, would have been

favoured by a movement of Prince Korsakow against the left wing of the French army, since the Allies had re-crossed the Rhine, and marched upon Wintherthur, while Massena, with so much judgment defended his right wing by a part of his centre. The greater part of Korsakow's column had crossed the bridge of Diedenhoffen, while Condé's troops, and those of Bavaria, entered into the Thurgau by the bridge of Constance.

When Massena was made acquainted with this manœuvre, he gave orders to Soult to march at first against Rheineck, at the head of the Lake of Constance, with a view to secure his right flank, and stop the career of the Austrian forces under General Petrasch, which had already crossed the Rheinthal, and retreated to Feldkirch and Bregentz. He passed, at the same time, from the right to the left of the army, headed, in person, the divisions before Zurich, and met the Allies on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, which last river they were obliged to recross, after their advanced posts were defeated. The bridge of Diedenhoffen was destroyed, while the Republicans took possession of that of Constance, and pursued the rear-guard of Condé's, and the Bavarian troops, as far as Petershausen. Constance was captured and recaptured no less than three times in the course of one day, and, at last, remained in the possession of the French. One half of Switzerland, all the Eastern part included between the Russ and the Rhine, from St. Gothard as far as Constance, formed the great theatre of action; and in the space of 90 miles filled up with difficult positions, there was not one pass which could be called practicable, that was not disputed by pitched battles, and traversed by troops having one and the same object in view.

When the Archduke received intelligence of the battle of Zurich, at his head-quarters on the middle Rhine, he abandoned the pursuit of Muller, and marched with

the greater part of the troops, leaving a sufficient force with Prince Schwartzemberg to cover that place and Philipsburg. The Prince held a council of war at Donaueschingen on the 4th of October, and a few days afterwards the forces of Austria made their entrance into Upper Swabia and the frontiers of Switzerland. The Archduke gave orders to General Nauendorf to take a nearer position in Upper Swabia, and to observe the side of the Brisgaw. A part of Korsakow's army filed off towards his left, by the lake of Constance; and Suwarrow, after receiving a considerable part of the artillery which he had left behind him in Italy, took the route down the Rheinthal to Feldkirch, and met the Russian generals at Lindau, four miles North-west of Bregentz. St. Gothard, in the mean time, was retaken by the French who threatened to re-enter the Grisons, and capture the head-quarters at Coire. Thus were all the brilliant triumphs of the Allies on the wane, and all the honours of the ancient courts were, once more, sacrificed to their narrow policy.

THE END OF CHAP. VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

Buonaparté's Chagrin at the Reverses of the French Army in Egypt....He receives intelligence from Europe of the Distractions in France....He resolves to abandon the Army. ....He secretly leaves Egypt....The Address he left behind him to the Army....The Letter he left to be delivered to General Kléber....The indignant Dispatch of General Kleber to the Directory, announcing Buonaparté's abandonment of the Army of Egypt...Estimate, by General Kleber, of the Debts owing by Buonaparté on Account of the Army when he quitted Egypt.

SEVEN long years had Europe now been spilling her best blood, without having advanced a single step towards her object, and without being able to devise any means by which peace could possibly be obtained. The Allies had coalesced, but were by no means united, and the French were ultimately tranquil, though very far from settled. Peace was equally desirable to both sides, but the different cabinets seemed to be cursed by such a spirit of blindness that neither of them could discern its true interest. Such was the perverse state of things whilst our Hero was shut up in the gloom of disappointment at Alexandria; and, though he could not foresee exactly, whether peace or war would be most conducive to his interest, it was certain that neither his interests nor views would be promoted by the defeat of the French.

So perfectly agreed were all his friends upon this point, that no doubt was entertained at Paris, that, if he could but be made acquainted with the true state of things, he would hazard much to return to the seat of government, and would, in so doing, be able to recover the glory of France and add much to his own. The turn that the af-

fairs of Egypt had taken deprived him of all further attachment to that crusade, and he was brooding over the disgrace and mortification that would follow his failure, when means were found of making known to him the events that had occurred, and the wishes of his friends. A person of nice sensibility would have been greatly embarrassed upon such an occasion, and the idea of deserting his companions and followers, just at the moment when accumulating dangers rendered his assistance more than ever necessary, would have been regarded, by some persons, as an instance of baseness and cowardice too shocking to be practised. Not so, Buonaparté—he wanted an excuse to abandon his project, and he had found one; he collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and, clandestinely, quitted Egypt in their company, without giving the shortest notice of his design.

As soon as he had resolved to return to France, Buonaparté ordered Admiral Ganteaume to get ready for sea the two frigates that lay at Alexandria; General Menou was entrusted with the secret just time enough to apprise the persons who were to be of the party to hold themselves in readiness to attend the General, and, on the 23rd of August, at one o'clock, says Denou, "we were told that Buonaparté waited in the road; an hour after we were at sea." At this departure the General left the following Address to the army:

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief, to the Army.

"Head Quarters, Alexandria, August 22nd, 1799.

"In consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined to return immediately to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber; they shall hear from me speedily: this is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached; but it will be only for an instant; and the general I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the Government and of mine.

(Signed) "Buonaparte."

"By order of the Commander in Chief, and of the General of Division, Chief of the Staff.

(Signed) "ALEX. BERTHIER.

"A true copy. (Signed) SONNET, Adjutant-General.

"A true copy. (Signed) LE ROY."

This Address was inclosed in a letter to General Kleber, to be read to the army after he was gone; and as the views of Buonaparté were more fully explained to his successor, we insert the Letter itself.

BUONAPARTE, Commander in Chief, to General KLEBER.

"Alexandria, August 23rd, 1799.

"ANNEXED to this, Citizen General, you will find an order for you to take the command of the army. My constant apprehensions lest the English fleet should again appear on the coast, compel me to hasten my voyage by two or three days.

"I take with me Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andreossi, and Marmont; Citizen Monge, and Citizen Bertholet.

"Inclosed you will find the English and Francfort papers up to the 10th of June. You will see by them, that we have lost Italy: that Mantua, Turin, and Tortona, are in a state of blockade. I have some grounds to flatter myself, that the first of these places will hold out to the end of November; and, I trust, if fortune smiles upon me, to be in Europe before the beginning of October.

"You will also find, enclosed, a cypher, for your correspondence with the Government, and another, for your communications with me.

"I entreat you to dispatch Gimo some time in the month of October, together with the baggage which I have left at Cairo, and my domestics. I should, however, have no particular objection to your taking as many of them as may suit you into your own service.

"It is the present intention of Government that General Desaix should set out for Europe in November next, unless something of consequence should arise here to detain him.

"The Commission of the Arts shall return to France on board a flag of truce, which you will demand for this purpose, conformably to the late cartel, some time in the month of November, immediately after they have completed the object of their mission. They are, at present, engaged in putting a finishing hand to it, by an examination of Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, if you think that any of them will be of service to you, you may put them in requisition without scruple!

"The Effendi, who was made prisoner at Aboukir, is set out for Damietta. I have already written to you to send him to Cyprus: he takes with him a letter for the Grand Vizier, of which I enclose you a copy.

"The arrival of the Brest fleet at Toulon, and of the Cadiz fleet at Carthagena, leaves no kind of doubt of the possibility of transmitting to Egypt the muskets, sabres, pistols, balls, &c. of which you stand in need, and of which I am provided with a very exact enumeration; together with a sufficient number of recruits to supply the losses of our two campaigns. Government itself, I presume, will, by that conveyance, acquaint you with its intentions: as for myself, both in my public and my private capacity, I promise to take every measure for enabling you to hear frequently from France.

"If, by a series of the most extraordinary events, none of these attempts should succeed, and you should neither receive reinforcements nor intelligence from France by May next; and if, this year, in spite of all your precautions, the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than 1,500 of the troops—a considerable loss in addition to that which the events of the war will daily occasion—I think that you ought not then to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte; even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article. It will merely be necessary for you to postpone the execution of it (if such a thing be possible) till the period of a general peace.

"No one, Citizen General, has better means of judging of the importance of Egypt to France than yourself. The Turkish empire, menaced with ruin on every side, is crumbling to pieces at this moment; and the evacuation of Egypt on our part would be so much the more unfortunate, as we should be sure to see, ere long, this fine province fall into the hands of some other European powers.

"The intelligence of the good or ill fortune which may attend the Republic in Europe, will, of course, have its due influence in determining your future measures.

"If the Porte should reply to the overtures I have made for peace, before my letters from France can reach you, it will be, in that case, necessary for you to declare, that you have all the powers with which I was entrusted.

"Enter then upon the negotiation; adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have advanced, that France never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the Grand Seignor.

"Require the Ottoman Porte to separate itself from the Coalition, to grant us the free commerce of the Black Sea, to set at liberty all

the French in confinement; and, lastly, to agree to a suspension of hostilities for six months, that there may be a sufficient time for the mutual exchange of ratifications.

"Supposing, however, that you should find yourself in such circumstances as you conceive make it necessary to conclude the treaty with the Porte; you must then make that power understand that you cannot execute your part of it before it be ratified at home; and that, according to the usual practice of all nations, the interval between the signing and ratifying of a treaty is always considered as a suspension of hostilities.

"You are acquainted, Citizen General, with my way of thinking respecting the interior policy of Egypt. Act in what manner you please, the Christians will still be our friends; it will be necessary, however, to prevent them from growing too insolent, lest the Turks should conceive the same fanatic prejudice against us as against them, which would destroy every possibility of a reconciliation: this fanaticism must, at all events, be laid asleep, until we have an opportunity of extirpating it entirely. By gaining the good opinion of the principal Sheiks at Cairo we shall secure that of all Egypt; and, of all the chiefs which its inhabitants may rally under, there are none less to be apprehended by us than the Sheiks, who are all timorous, unacquainted with arms, and, like all other priests, know how to inspire the people with fanaticism, without being fanatic themselves.

"With respect to the fortifications, I consider Alexandria and El Arisch as the two keys of Egypt. I had once an idea of forming, during the approaching winter, several redoubts of palm-trees; two from Salehieh to Catich, two from Catich to El Arish: of these last, one was to be placed on the spot where General Menou discovered a spring of tolerable water.

"Brigader-general Sanson, commander of the corps of engineers, and Brigadier-general Sougis, commander of the artillery, will furnish you with the necessary details of their respective departments.

"Citizen Poussielgue has had the sole management of the finances; I have found him extremely active, and, in every respect, a person of merit; he began to have some insight into the chaos of the administration of this country. It was my intention, if nothing occurred to prevent me, to attempt, this winter, a new system of taxation, which would, by degrees, relieve us from our present dependance on the Copts: before you undertake it, however, I advise you to make it the subject of long and deliberate meditation; it is safer to begin an operation of this nature a little too late than a little too soon.

"Our ships of war will certainly make their appearance this winter, either at Alexandria, Brulos, or Damietta. You must have a battery

and a signal-tower at Brulos. Endeavour to get together five or six hundred Mameloucs, in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may be able to lay your hands upon them at the same instant of time, either at Cairo or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately for France*. If you cannot procure Mameloucs, such Arab hostages, Cheiks el Beled as may then be in custody, no matter on what account, will answer the end as well. These people, landed in France, and detained there for a year or two, will contemplate the grandeur of the nation; they will acquire, in some degree, our manners and our language, and when they return to Egypt, will prove to us so many partisans.

"I have already repeatedly written for a company of comedians, I will take particular care that they shall be sent. This appears to me an article of the utmost consequence, not only for the army, but for the purpose of effecting something like a change in the moral habits of the country.

"The important situation of Commander-in-Chief, which has now devolved upon you, will afford you ample opportunities of displaying those talents with which nature has endowed you. The interest taken in everything which passes here is active and lively; and the consequences resulting from it will be immense, whether considered with respect to commerce or to civilization. This is, assuredly, the epoch from whence revolutions of the most extraordinary nature will take their date.

"Accustomed to look for the recompense of the toils and difficulties of life in the opinion of posterity, I abandon Egypt with the deepest regret! The honour and interests of my country, duty, and the extraordinary events which have recently taken place there; these, and these alone, have determined me to hazard a passage to Europe, through the midst of the enemy's squadrons: in heart and in spirit I shall still be in the midst of you. Your victories will be as dear to me as any in which I may be personally engaged; and I shall look upon that day of my life as ill employed in which I shall not do something for the army of which I leave you the command; and for the consolidation of the magnificent establishment, the foundation of which is so recently laid.

"The army I entrusted to your care, is entirely composed of my

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"* It is impossible to conceive a scheme of blacker or more diabolical perfidy than Buonaparté here plans for Kleber. Five or six hundred innocent people, living without suspicion or fear, under the protection of the French, are to be torn from their country, their families, and friends, and hurried off to France, under a pretence equally absurd and iniquitous."

own children. I have never ceased, even in the midst of their most trying difficulties and dangers, to receive proofs of their attachment; endeavour to preserve them still in those sentiments for me. This is due to the particular esteem and friendship I entertain for you, and to the unfeigned affection I feel for them!

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

A true Copy. "KLEBER."

Whatever reflections arise out of this Epistle, they seem to have been anticipated so sensibly by General Kleber, that truth absolutely demands them to be given in his own words. That officer seems to have felt the greatest indignation that Buonaparté should have attempted to dupe him, and the French nation, by ascribing his departure to honourable motives. Kleber's Letter is addressed to the Directory, and is at once a curious piece of criticism upon that of Buonaparté, and an interesting picture of the state of Egypr at the time of his desertion.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

KLEBER, Commander-in-Chief, to the DIRECTORY.

Head Quarters, Cairo, October 7th, 1799.

"THE Commander-in-Chief, Buonaparté, quitted this country for France, on the morning of the 23rd ult. without saying a word of his intention to any person whatever. He had appointed me to meet him at Rosetta on the subsequent day: (the 24th.) I found nothing there but his dispatches. Unable to divine whether the General has had the good fortune to reach Toulon, I think it incumbent on me to send you a copy of the Letter, by which he transferred to me the command of the army, as also of another, which he had addressed to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople, although he knew perfectly well that this officer was already arrived at Damascus.

"My first cares have been directed to obtain an accurate knowledge of the present condition of the army.

"You know, Citizen Directors, and you have it in your power to procure the requisite statements; you know, I say, the actual strength of the army at its arrival in Egypt: it is reduced a full half!—and we occupy all the capital points of the great triangle, from the Cataracts

to El Arisch, from El Arisch to Alexandria, and from Alexandria again to the Cataracts; meanwhile, it is no longer a question, as it once was, of contending with a few hordes of dispirited Mameloucs; but, of resisting and combating the united efforts of three great powers, the Porte, England, and Russia.

"The absolute want of arms, of gunpowder, of cannon, and musket-balls, presents a picture no less alarming than the prodigious and rapid diminution of our numbers. Our attempts to establish a foundry, have failed of success; and the manufactory of powder, which we set on foot at Rhoda, has not, hitherto, kept pace, in any degree, with our expectations; in all probability it never will. Add to this, that the repairing of our small arms proceeds but slowly; and that, to give the necessary activity to these various undertakings, money and means, of which we have neither, are absolutely indispensible.

"The troops are naked, and this privation of clothing is the more calamitous, as it is perfectly ascertained, in this country, to be one of the most active causes of the dysenteries and ophthalmies which constantly prevail here. The first, in particular, has operated with an alarming effect this season, on bodies already weakened and exhausted by fatigue. The members of the Board of Health remark, (and never fail to mention it in their reports,) that, although the army is so much diminished, the number on the sick list is considerably larger this year than at the same period of the last.

"General Buonaparté, previous to his departure, had, it is true, given orders for new clothing the army: but, for this, as well as for a great many other projects, he contented himself with the mere orders:—the poverty of the finances, which is a new obstacle to be combated, reduced him, doubtless, to the necessity of adjourning the execution of this useful design.

"Now I have mentioned the finances, I feel it my duty to say somewhat more on the subject.

"General Buonaparté exhausted the extraordinary resources within a few months after our arrival! He levied at that time as extensive a military contribution as the country could possibly spport! To have recourse a second time to this expedient, now, that we are surrounded with enemies from without, would only pave the way for an insurrection the first favourble moment.

"Notwithstanding all this, Buonaparté, at quitting us, did not leave behind him a single *sous* in the military chest, nor anything capable of being turned into money! He left, on the contrary, a debt of near ten millions? more than a whole year's income in the present state of things: the pay of the army alone, is in arrear, full 4,000,000!

" The present state of the inundation makes it impossible to recover the deficiencies of the year just expired; and which, if it were not so, would scarce answer the expenses of a month: we cannot, therefore, enter again on the collection of the taxes till the end of November; and, even then, it is clear to me, that we shall not be in a condition to attend sufficiently to it, because we shall have our hands full of fighting. In a word, the Nile being very low this year, many provinces, deprived of the inundation, will claim the customary exemptions, to which we cannot, in common justice, object.

" Every syllable, Citizen Directors, which I here advance, I can authenticate, either by verbal processes, or by estimates of the different services, regularly signed.

" Although Egypt is, to all appearance, tranquil, it is nothing less than in a state of submission; the people are restless and uneasy; and, in spite of all we can do to the contrary, persist in looking upon us as the enemies of their property; their hearts are incessantly open to the hopes of a favourable change.

" The Mamelukes are dispersed, but not destroyed. Murad Bey is stll in Upper Egypt with a body of men, sufficiently numerous to find constant employment for a considerable part of our forces. If we should quit him for an instant his little army would increase with inconceivable rapidity; and he would descend the Nile, and harrass us at the gates of this capital; where, in spite of the most vigilant attention, they have constantly found means, to this very hour, to procure him supplies of arms and money.

" Ibrahim Bey is at Gaza, with about two thousand Mamelukes; and I am informed that 30,000 men, part of the army of the Grand Vizier and Dgezzar Pasha, are also arrived at the same place. The Grand Vizier left Damascus about three weeks ago; he is at present encamped near Acre: finally, the English are masters of the Red Sea.

" Such, Citizen Directors, is the situation in which General Buonaparté has left me to sustain the enormous burden of commanding the army of the East! He saw the fatal crisis approaching; your orders have not permitted him to surmount it. That such a crisis exists, his letters, his instructions, his negotiation, lately set on foot, all contribute to evince; it is of public notoriety, and our enemies appear to me no less perfectly informed of it than ourselves.

" 'If this year,' says General Buonaparté, 'in spite of all my precautions, the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than fifteen hundred men, &c. I then think that you ought not to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article,' &c.

"I have pointed out this passage to you, Citizens Directors, because it is characteristic in more than one point of view; and, above all, because it clearly shows you the real situation in which I am placed. Of what consequence are 1,500 men, more or less, in the immense space of country which I have to defend, and against an eternal repetition of attacks?

"The General further says, 'Alexandria and El Arisch, are the two keys of Egypt,' El Arisch is a paltry fort, four days journey in the Desart; the prodigious difficulty of victualing it will not allow of its being garrisoned by more than 250 men. Six hundred Mamelukes and Arabs might, whenever they pleased, cut off all communication with Catiez; and as, when Buonaparté left us, this garrison had but a fortnight's provision in advance; just that space of time, and no more, would be sufficient to compel it to capitulate, without firing a shot! The Arabs alone were capable of furnishing regular convoys of provisions through these burning desarts; but, they have been so often overreached and defrauded, that, far from offering us *their services, they now keep aloof and conceal themselves*; besides, the arrival of the Grand Vizier, who inflames their fanaticism, and overwhelms them with presents, will equally tend to incline them to desert us.

"Alexandria is by no means a fortress; it is a large intrenched camp. It was, indeed, tolerably well defended by a numerous heavy artillery; but, since we lost it in the disastrous invasion of Syria, and since General Buonaparté has taken all the cannon belonging to the shipping, to complete the equipment of the two frigates with which he sailed for France, this camp can make, in fact, but a feeble resistance.

"General Buonaparté deceived himself with regard to the consequences which he expected from his victory at Aboukir. He cut to pieces, it is true, near nine thousand Turks who had landed there; but, what is such a loss as this to a great nation, from whom we have violently torn the fairest portion of its empire; and whom religion, honour, and interest, equally stimulate to avenge its injuries, and to re-conquer what it has been thus deprived of? As a proof of what I say, this victory has not retarded, for a single instant, either the preparations, or the march of the Grand Vizier?

"In this state of things, what can, and what ought I to do? I think, Citizen Directors, that I should continue the negotiations entered upon by Buonaparté; though the result should be merely the gaining a little time, I should even then have sufficient reason to be satisfied with it. I have inclosed you the Letter which, in consequence of this determination, I wrote to the Grand Vizier; sending him, at the same time, a duplicate of that from Buonaparté.

" If this minister meets my advances I shall propose to him the restitution of Egypt, on the following conditions :

' " The Grand Seignior shall appoint a Pasha, as before.

' " The Beys shall give up to him the Miri, which the Porte has had always *de jure*, and never *de facto*.

' " Commerce shall be reciprocally open between Egypt and Syria.

' " The French shall continue in the country, occupy the strong holds and the forts, and collect all the duties and customs till the French Government shall have made peace with England.

" If these summary preliminaries are accepted, I shall think I have rendered my country a greater service than if I had obtained the most brilliant victory. But I fear they will not be attended to : if the haughtiness of the Turks opposes no obstacle, I shall still have to combat the influence of English gold. Happen what may, I will endeavour to direct myself by circumstances.

" I know all the importance of the possession of Egypt. I used to say in Europe, that this country was for France the point of fixture, by means of which she might move, at will, the commercial system of every quarter of the globe ; but, to do this effectually, a powerful lever is required, and that lever is a navy : ours has existed ! Since that period, every thing has changed ; and peace with the Porte is, in my opinion, the only expedient that holds out to us a method of fairly getting rid of an enterprise no longer capable of attaining the object for which it was undertaken.

" I shall not enter, Citizen Directors, into the details of all the diplomatic combinations which the present state of Europe might furnish : this is not my province. In the forlorn situation in which I stand, and so far removed from the centre of action, I can scarce give a thought to anything but the safety and honour of the army which I command ; happy if, in the midst of my distresses, I should have the good fortune to meet your wishes ; at a less distance from you, I should place all my glory in obedience.

" I have annexed to this, an exact estimate of the more material articles of which we stand in need for the service of the artillery ; and, also a summary recapitulation of the debt contracted, and left unpaid by General Buonaparté.

" Health and respect,

" KLEBER."

" P. S. At this instant, Citizen Directors, just as I am making up my dispatches, I learn that fourteen or fifteen Turkish vessels are at anchor before Damietta, where they are waiting for the fleet of the Captain Pasha, now at Joppa, and having on board, as I am told,

from fifteen to twenty thousand land forces; besides these, there are still fifteen thousand men at Gaza, and the Grand Vizier is marching from Damascus. A few days since, he sent us back a soldier of the 25th demi-brigade; who had been made prisoner in the neighbourhood of El Arisch; after having showed him all his camp, he desired him to acquaint his comrades with what he had seen, and to tell their commander to tremble. This seems to announce either the confidence which the Grand Vizier has in his forces, or a wish to enter upon an accommodation. With respect to myself, it will be absolutely impossible for me to get together more than 5,000 men, capable of taking the field against him: notwithstanding this, I will try my fortune, if I do not succeed in gaining time by my negotiations. Dgezzar has withdrawn his forces from Gaza, and marched them back to Acre."

The schedule of the military wants of the army it would be unnecessary to copy here, as it is admitted by Buonaparté in his letter; but, the estimate of the debts owing by him when he fled, is so far important, as it proves that he neither kept faith with the people whom he invaded, nor the army whom he led to invade them.

ARMY OF THE EAST. FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ESTIMATE

Of the different Sums due on the 23rd of August 1799, the Period at which GENERAL KLEBER received the Command of the Army.

	livres	ss.	ds.
Pay of the army	4,015,000	0	0
Extraordinaries	576,000	0	0
Difference of pay between the law of the 2nd Thermidor, in the year 2, and that of the 23rd Floreal, in the year 5, due to part of the army	802,332	6	3
Artillery	91,214	0	0
Engineers			
Marine, military, and merchant service, by a rough calculation	3,962,124	0	6
Military subsistence	1,198,973	10	0
Clothing	144,381	10	10
Military hospitals	311,277	15	4
Military convoys	177,098	4	0
Military posts	5,432	12	2
Carried forward	13,283,833	19	6

	livres	s.	de.
Brought over	13,283,833	19	0
To the inspector of the saddle manufactory	12,601	0	0
To the inspector of the boot manufactory	6,000	0	0
To the commissaries at Suez	7,014	6	0
To certain French, Turks, and Greeks, who have furnished provisions at Alexandria, and elsewhere	41,980	7	0
To Citizen Rosetty for provisions for the army, when on its march to Rhamanie'.	3,222	12	8
Total	13,356,650	18	8

OBSERVATIONS.

"Since the army quitted France, the expenditure has exceeded the receipts by 13,356,650 livres, 18 sous, 8 deniers—this debt, then must inevitably continue increasing. At our first arrival here requisitions were made in all the towns for the immediate subsistence of the troops. These have never been paid for.

"Extraordinary contributions were levied upon the merchants, tradesmen, &c.

"The effects of the Mamelukes were also seized on our arrival; their wives have been made to pay an extraordinary imposition.

"The receipts of the last year were greater than those of the present can possibly be. The inundatian has failed, and many villages have been deprived of water.

"The debt above stated does not include what is due to the provinces for the supplies in kind, with which the troops were furnished during their march.

"It is evident, from these observations, that, as long as the army of Egypt is engaged in hostilities, there can be no foreign trade; nor can the receipts be possibly made to answer the expenses. It is peace alone which can place the receipts on a satisfactory footing.

"Certified by me,

"E. POUSSIELGUE, Commissary-general, &c. to be conformable to the respective lists delivered to me at Cairo, Oct. 7, 1799.

"Examined by the Commander-in-Chief,

(Signed) "KLEBER."

THE END OF CHAP. VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

General Kleber addresses an animating Proclamation to the Army....Citizen Poussielgue's Administrator-general of the Finances of Egypt, interesting Account of the State of Egypt, and of the French Army and Finances....A Treaty signed between Sir Sidney Smith and General Kleber, for the Evacuation of Egypt by the French Army.

FEELING, as Kleber did upon this occasion, he would hardly have been subject to censure if he had openly declared his opinions to the army, and denounced Buonaparté a traitor? but like a true soldier, he chose to consult the orders he had received rather than his own feelings, and left his statements to be justified by events rather than forwarded by his own manœuvres. The following Address, delivered while he was yet smarting from the recent perfidy of Buonaparté, may be recommended, as a model of generosity, manliness, and true military honour.

KLEBER Commander-in-Chief, to the Army.

"Head Quarters, Cairo, August 31, 1799."

"SOLDIERS!

"MOTIVES, of the most imperious nature, have determined the Commander-in-Chief, Buonaparté, to return to France.

"The dangers incident to a voyage undertaken in no very favourable part of the year, on a narrow sea, covered with the enemy's fleets, were too feeble to arrest him. Your happiness was at stake!

"Soldiers! a powerful reinforcement, or a glorious peace, is at hand: a peace worthy of you and of your achievements, is on the point of restoring you to your country.

"In taking upon myself the charge with which Buonaparté was intrusted, I was neither unaware of its importance, nor of the toil and danger attending it; but, on the other hand, when I considered your gallantry, so often crowned with the most brilliant success; your unwearied patience in braving every calamity, and supporting every privation; when I considered, in short, all that might be done or

attempted with such soldiers, I lost sight of everything but the advantage of being at your head, and the honour of commanding you; and I felt myself inspired with new vigour.

"Soldiers! rely upon what I say; your urgent wants shall be the never-ceasing object of my most earnest solicitude.

(Signed) "KLEBER.

"By order of the Commander-in-Chief, the General of Division, and Chief of the Staff.

(Signed) "DUMAS.

"A true copy. (Signed) DUMAS, Adjutant-general.

"A true copy. LE ROY."

By the letters of General Kleber, it appears, that officer opened a negotiation with the Grand Vizier, upon the basis of Buonaparté's Letter, which it is unnecessary to insert here, as it was merely a repetition of those professions of friendship for the Porte, and of those attempts to obtain its acquiescence in the violation of Egypt, which he had before speculated upon. The extensive preparations that the Turks were, in the interim, making to attack the army at all points, occupied so much time, that the French officers had sufficient leisure to take an accurate and extensive survey of their situation in Egypt. Not one of the officers, whose private letters have been published, expressed themselves satisfied with the conduct of Buonaparté; and, in general, they evince a strong suspicion of its being his design to impose at once upon the Government and the army. Of the officers alluded to, it is to be observed, that none were personally the enemies of our Hero, and that they had all been attached to him by personal respect at the time of his quitting France; the testimony of any one of those officers ought, therefore, to be taken as fair evidence in the concerns of Egypt, though it might not be favourable to Buonaparté; but as the occupation of that Colony essentially forms the most conspicuous feature in his Life, it is desirable that every particular relative to it should be collected from the most authentic source; we shall, therefore, insert a

Letter of Citizen Poussielgue, who possessed the confidence of the General himself, (see page 99) and which Letter contains the best account of Egypt that has been written.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

E. Poussielgue, Comptroller of the Expenses of the Army, and Administrator-general of the Finances of Egypt, to the Executive Directory.

Cairo, September 22, 1799.

"CITIZENS DIRECTORS!

"I HAVE been, exclusively, charged, since the arrival of the army in Egypt, with the administration of the finances, and of the other departments connected with the political economy of this country.

"I conceive I owe you, after the departure of General Buonaparté, and in the critical situation in which he left us, a concise, but faithful, representation of the observations which I have collected, and the political opinions which naturally flow from them.

"Travellers, and even the agents of the French Government, who have been in Egypt, have so cordially agreed in the exaggerated ideas which they have disseminated respecting the natural riches and the treasures which this country contains, that a residence of fifteen months, with multiplied researches, and experiments, by a great number of enlightened men, have not yet totally effaced the false impressions they had given.

"The ordinary revenues, including the customs, were estimated from 49 to 50,000,000; some have even carried them as far as 60,000,000.

"They can only be reckoned, in time of peace, at 19,000,000; a system of commerce well managed, and well protected, might raise them to 20,000,000.

"In time of war (such as that we have been incessantly engaged) the revenues do not, by any means, exceed 12 or 13,000,000.

"Abundance in Egypt depends, first, on a good Nile, and secondly, on the distribution of the water: every year the canals must be cleaned out, the dikes repaired, and care taken that none of them be cut sooner or later than the common interest appears to require.

"The distribution and the maintenance of the canals are very far from being carried here to that degree of utility which one would expect to find in a country, whose fertility entirely depends on the observation of these two circumstances.

"Even when the Nile is good a great quantity of land remains uncultivated, for want of order in cutting the dikes: but when the Nile is bad, or middling, the loss is ten times greater than it ought to be;

because, all the villages being equally afraid of wanting water, those who border on the river hasten, before the proper time, to cut the dikes; which is never done without a contest with the villages interested in opposing it: and by this inconsiderate method of proceeding, a great part of the water, already so scarce, is lost, without procuring the least advantage.

"But, however productive the harvests may be, they cannot, under the present system, increase the revenues of the Government, although it be itself proprietor of two-thirds of the lands of Egypt; while, on the other hand, a bad Nile diminishes them considerably.

"The Egyptian system of finance is entirely feudal.

"The peasant ploughs and sows for his own advantage, in consideration of a fixed rent, which he pays in money, or in kind, to the proprietor.

"This rent may be divided into three distinct heads:

"The Miri: this is a kind of ground-rent due to the Grand Seignior; the proprietor receives and pays it in to the Effendi appointed to collect it.

"This Mira, imposed on the lands, amounts to 3,000,000 livres, according to all the rent-rolls which fell into my hands.

"The second kind of rent is called Fais: it is the quit-rent, or net income, originally appropriated to the proprietor: it amounts, like the former, for all the lands, those of Government included, to 3,000,000.

"The third kind is called Barani, or Moudaf; it is composed, first of an over-charge of income, laid on by the proprietor by way of supplement to the Fais. Secondly, of extraordinary requisitions of every kind, made on the village, either of money or of produce. Thirdly, of expenses caused by the passage of the troops, or by the visits of the proprietor. Fourthly, of all the official charges of the village and the province, pious foundations, &c. &c. These united, produce, from all the landed property of Egypt, 6,400,000.

"Besides this, there is a sum of 1,300,000 arising from the duties which the Cachefs used to collect for their own advantage in the provinces which they governed.

"Thus it appears, that the sum total of the revenues in specie which are raised from the cultivators of the lands of Egypt (exclusive of the immense peculations of the Copts who collect them) amounts, pretty nearly, to 14,000,000.

"From these must be deducted 3,200,000 livres, for the *fais* and the *baranis* of the lands which do not appertain to the Government, and which are estimated at a third of Egypt: there will then remain to the Government 10,800,000.

"It is not possible to obtain more than this without making advances, or exactions.

"To this revenue must be added the *fais* and *barani* which is paid in kind. This only takes place in the provinces in Upper Egypt.

"This is estimated at 1,800,000 quintals of all kinds of grain, for that portion which belongs to the Government: taking the whole as equivalent to 1,000,000 quintals of good wheat, at 3 livres 10 sols each, it will amount to 3,500,000 livres.

"From this must be deducted 850,000 for the expenses of collecting and carrying, which amount to seventeen sols for every quintal delivered at Cairo: there remain then 2,650,000 livres.

"In time of peace the produce of the customs and of the other indirect duties is usually stated at about 5,000,000.

"The Mint produces 750,000.

"From this it appears, that the revenues of the Government in time of peace will be 19,200,000 livres; but in the state of war, in which we are, customs and indirect revenues do not produce more than 1,500,000.

"The grain of Upper Egypt, which is not sold on the spot, and which we have not sufficient means to bring down the country, will not produce more than a million.

"The discharges that must be given to the villages for the lands not watered, will amount to more than 1,500,000.

"There must be deducted a number of charges and pensions granted to the country, and which we have been obliged to continue; the expenses of the caravan to Mecca, which were partly supplied by us last year, and which must be wholly so this; the expenses of the Divans of the provinces, and of the Janissaries of the country: all these will take off nearly 3,000,000.

"It is not possible, then, to take the revenues appropriated to the army at more than 9 or 10,000,000; of this sum there only remains about 2,000,000 to be obtained from this period to the 20th of December next.

"General Buonaparté levied in the first month of our arrival on the different nations, and on the merchants, about 4,000,000 livres of extraordinary contributions. He also laid a duty of two-fifths of a year's revenue on the landed property of individuals, which brought in about 1,200,000.

"These expedients are worn out. No more extraordinary contributions can be looked for in a country where all trade has been at an end for nineteen months. The money of the Christians is exhausted; we cannot ask the Turks for any without occasioning a revolt, and, besides, we should, in no case, obtain it. The money

is hid; and the Turks, still more than the Christians, suffer themselves to be imprisoned, to be beaten in the most cruel manner; nay, some of them even suffered their heads to be cut off, rather than discover where they had concealed their treasures!

"The collection of the revenues begins in November for the rice-grounds; in January for the land appropriated to wheat, and other articles which pay in money; and in June for those which pay in kind.

"The pesantry are still more tenacious of their money than the inhabitants of the towns; they never pay but when they are absolutely forced to it, and even then sous by sous: their money is hid, their produce and their other property buried in the ground; they know they must pay at last, and that by doing it voluntarily, and at the regular periods, they might save themselves from those violent measures which always cost them double, or ruin them. They prefer waiting for a column of troops; if they see them coming, they immediately flée with their wives, their children, and their cattle; and the soldiers find nothing at their arrival but a number of empty hovels. If they fancy themselves strong enough to resist, they give battle, and call in the neighbouring villages, and even the Arabs, to their assistance. They have always scouts abroad to give them timely notice of the approach of the troops.

"Sometimes it is possible to seize the chiefs of the village: they are thrown into prison, and kept there till the village has discharged what is due: this expedient is tedious, and does not always succeed. If we are fortunate enough to carry off their camels, buffaloes, and sheep, they suffer them to be sold, instead of attempting to recover them by paying their debt, and expose themselves to the hazard of dying with hunger, leaving their lands uncultivated for the succeeding year!

"It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to maintain perpetually, in each of the 16 provinces of Egypt, a column of 80 or 100 men whose sole employment is to force the villagers to pay their taxes: very frequently, after a long and laborious round, the soldiers return with a mere trifle.

"It is easy to conjecture all the evils, the exactions, the havoc, the waste, and the confusion, which commonly attend these rounds, and which the severest discipline can neither prevent nor remedy.

"An inconvenience, of a very serious nature, arises, to prevent the collecting of the taxes during the eight months in which the country is not inundated: it is the period when the Arabs undertake their predatory incursions, when landings are made on the coasts, and when we are threatened with attacks from every quarter. It then becomes necessary for us to be continually fighting; and a column of

troops has scarce begun to move forward before it is compelled to fall back, in order to punish the revolted villages, or to expel the Mamelukes and the Arabs.

"The collection of grain is still more difficult. Like the tax on specie, it is absolutely necessary to compel the villages, *at the point of the bayonet*, to pay what is due; it must then be taken to the magazines on the banks of the Nile, embarked in boats, and sent down the river to Cairo.

"When the two first difficulties are overcome, the third, more difficult than either, still remains, on account of the small number of boats which can be found for these convoys, and the short time they can be used, which is only during the four months in which the Nile is navigable. Since our arrival a prodigious number of boats have been cut up and burnt, for want of other fuel; these neither have, nor can, by any possible means, be replaced; a part of what is left is constantly employed in following the movements of the troops who are in pursuit of Murad Bey.

"Last year we were obliged to purchase, for ready money, at Cairo, notwithstanding the scarcity of specie, corn for the subsistence of the army, to the amount of more than 300,000 livres, though we had at that very time several millions worth in Upper Egypt.

"This year the boats have been exclusively employed in bringing down the Government stores: the consequence of this has been an inconvenience of another kind; the city of Cairo is in want of bread, and the uneasiness of the people on the occasion has already produced some degree of fermentation.

"In despite of all these disagreeable circumstances, there was last year some specie in the country; some had been brought in by the commerce of the preceding year; and yet, when Buonaparté left us, there were more than 10,000,000 still due to the army, of which the mere pay of the troops amounted to 4,000,000.

"At present the specie has entirely disappeared; nothing is now to be seen but medins, (a copper coin of nearly the value of an English halfpenny) which circulate from hand to hand with inconceivable rapidity.

"This coin bears but little more than a third of the intrinsic value of the other coins. Before the war, Spanish dollars were brought here in abundance, and the medins carried away: at present the dollars are all taken off by the coffee trade with Yemen, where they are sent to the mint, and melted down; so that, like the gold coin, they become more valuable as they become more scarce and the medins more plentiful. The consequence of this is, a rise in the price of every article, and a number of obstacles in the circulation of cash.

" The present superabundance of all the mercantile productions of Egypt, arising from the total cessation of foreign trade, is a circumstance still more disagreeable: it will complete the ruin of this country; for the villages being obliged to pay us always the same sums, and unable either to export or to find a market for their produce at home, will speedily see their inhabitants reduced to the last stage of misery; while the army, which had so much difficulty to procure money, while there was yet some in the country, will, shortly, be deprived of it altogether.

" The military chest is always empty; and, for a considerable period to come, we have not the most distant prospect of receiving more than 2 or 300,000 livres a month, while the ordinary expenses amount to more than 1,500,000 for the same space of time.

" The natives of this country, notwithstanding their frequent insurrections, may be considered as a mild and tractable people; but they cannot be trusted; they, are besides, very far from loving us, although they have been treated with more kindness than was ever yet shown to any conquered people*!

" The difference of manners, that extremely important one of language, and, above all, their religion, form obstacles of the most insuperable nature to every thing like a sincere affection.

" They hate the government of the Mamelukes; they dread the yoke of Constantinople; but they will never be brought to endure ours, but in the hope of, ultimately, shaking it off. The only favour they might be disposed to grant, is, to allow us the preference of all the nations which they call Christians.

" We have here, on every side of us, ten thousand secret enemies to one open friend.

" We had succeeded in maintaining a good intelligence with the Cherif of Mecca; and the letters which he wrote to Buonaparté and myself had quieted, for an instant, the consciences of the Mussulmen in this country: but we conjecture, from some spies, which he has sent to Cairo since the arrival of the Grand Vizier at Damascus, that he has changed his opinion, and, in consequence of the insinuations

* These tractable Egyptians must surely be the most perverse mules that ever existed! To revolt against the French, who used them more kindly than any conquered people was ever used; who only " cut their heads off," to obtain their money, and " point their bayonets at their breasts," to make them give up everything else, argues a degree of ingratitude equal to the insensibility they all show in not loving such exquisite benefactors, and of which Poussielgue so feelingly complains.

of the English, who have a force in the Red Sea, gone over to our enemies.

" We had 41,000 effective men at our arrival in Egypt. There were then only Mamelukes and Arabs to fight; and yet these constantly and exclusively occupied the whole attention of the army to the end of January.

" At present the Mamelukes, though dispersed, are notwithstanding, almost all in existence; and may, whenever the attention of the army shall be otherwise occupied, reunite with the utmost promptitude: they have only lost four or five inferior chiefs; the principal ones, who remain, are still powerful, and have a considerable degree of interest.

" The Arabs are not at all diminished; they hate us as much as they did at our arrival; and their wandering kind of life renders us no objects of apprehension to them.

" When we first landed, the Egyptians believed, as we told them, that it was with the consent of the Grand Seignior, and they submitted with more docility: at present they are perfectly convinced of the contrary. Those who appear to be in our interest conceive themselves authorized by our lie, to betray us; they will certainly do it on the first occasion; and their hearts were bounding with joy when the landing took place at Aboukir, in August last.

" But, when to these numerous armies, in the midst of whom we live, are added those from without; when the Grand Vizier, with the principal officers of the Ottoman Court, is assembling all the forces of the Empire to attack us, in different points at once, by land and sea, assisted too by England and Russia; when he calls upon all the people of this country to raise against us; and, finally, when the few Arabs, whom he had attached to us, leave us, to go over to him; it is not difficult to discover that our situation is desperate.

" The enemy looses an army, he raises another instantly. He was beaten at Mount Tabor, two months after he was beaten at Aboukir; the same period is elapsed, and he is again ready to be beaten at Salahleh! But every victory carries off some of our best troops, and their loss cannot be repaired. A defeat would annihilate us all to the last man; and, however brave the army may be, it cannot long avert that fatal event.

" The war has deprived us of a number of excellent officers; such as General Caffarelli, General Dommartin, General Bon, General Rambault, and General Dupuis; it has also deprived us of almost the whole corps of engineers, and of a very considerable part of the chiefs of brigade, both of infantry and cavalry. Several able generals have left us, and Buonaparté has taken five with him.

" The army, without clothes, and, above all, without arms, and without stores of any kind, reduced to less than two-thirds of its original numbers, has now no more than 11,000 men capable of taking the field, although about 13 or 14,000 appear under arms; this is owing to the appearance of a great number of soldiers at the roll-call, who prefer, sick and wounded as they are, doing duty at their quarters to staying in the hospitals or in the *depôts*. When they are wanted to march a little farther than usual, or to fight, the force they have put upon themselves instantly appears. Wounds, ophthalmies, dysenteries, and other diseases, not less common here, have absolutely disabled the rest of the army.

" Even those who are in a condition to march are exhausted by fatigue, enfeebled by the climate, and the wounds and sicknesses which they have endured, and their courage is proportionably diminished.

" With this handful of men we have to cover five hundred leagues of country; overawe three millions of inhabitants, who may be reckoned as so many enemies; and garrison the holds of and fortresses of Alexandria, Rosetta, Rahmanie, Gizeh, Benisuef, Medine, Minier, Stout, Girgé, Kené, Cosseir, Cairo, Suez, Mitt Kainar, Salahieh, El Arisch, Bilbeis, Catieh, Damietta, Mansora, Semenoud, and El Benouf. Should the Grand Vizier attack us, we cannot oppose more than five or six thousand men to all the Ottoman forces, which will be at his disposal; and, should he attack us in two places at once, he will penetrate into the country without a possibility, on our side, of preventing him: this would certainly have happened to General Buonaparté, if the Turks, while they were landing at Aboukir, had made the Syrian army advance upon Egypt.

" In three months we shall be obliged to encounter, a second time, that destructive malady the Plague, which may make dreadful havoc amongst us: this horrible prospect dismays the stoutest hearts.

" To put the finishing hand to our misfortunes, the Nile of this year has been extremely bad, having flowed off suddenly, and before the lands could be inundated in due succession; we shall not be able to draw any contribution from the villages which have not received their water, and we are threatened with the most frightful misery!

" There is not a soldier, not an officer, not a general, who does not most earnestly long to return to France; persuaded, as they all are, that they are all sacrificing here, without any advantage to their country, their healths and their lives.

" However, from the present situation of things in France, and considering that for more than 15 months it has not been possible to send us any assistance, it is clear that we must forego the hope of

having it, in any time to do us service, especially as the favourable season has now been suffered to pass by.

"The army saw with pleasure General Kleber at their head after the departure of General Buonaparté; no one is more capable of inspiring them with confidence and esteem.

"But he is full of honour and of noble pride; and the more sensible he is of the difficulty of the task thus left him, the more fearful he will be of listening to sentiments imperiously dictated by circumstances, and the immediate interest of the army, but which might, some time hence, be attributed, perhaps, to timidity.

"Not having the same responsibility on me, I am not afraid, Citizens Directors, to lay before you the naked truth; and be assured, that, however strong the representation I have just made, you would find it but feeble and imperfect, if the limits of a letter would allow me to enter into greater details.

"Egypt is a very fine country, our dreadful situation in it is merely the effect of circumstances: it proves only that we are arrived too soon, and that the time is not yet come for us to establish ourselves.

"There is not a doubt, but, that, if we were peaceable masters of Egypt, we might in a few years entirely remove a great part of the evils which infest and desolate it, such as the Plague and the Arabs; and give to agriculture and commerce a new activity, which should restore this country to its ancient splendor. This would render it one of the finest colonies in the world, which would speedily become the centre of universal commerce.

"But Egypt is bounded by two seas (the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) and by desarts.

"It is necessary to have a powerful marine to be in a condition of approaching it at pleasure; and, above all, to be enabled to protect its commerce, and insure all the advantages which it holds out.

"The French Republic is at present without a navy: it will be yet a long time before it can have created one capable of contending with that of our enemies.

"To pretend to preserve Egypt without having any means of sending thither, and of assuring the safety of our convoys of every kind, is merely to expose ourselves to the hazard of being compelled to abandon it to Russia or England, who, under the pretext of driving us from it, will establish themselves there, and very soon take effectual measures to exclude us from it for ever.

"We might, indeed, still maintain ourselves there if we had the permission of the Porte; but if it was not thought possible to obtain it before our invasion, it must be still less so now, when the Porte lies at the mercy of the Russians and English: and even were she, contrary to all appearances, disposed, from political considerations, to suffer us

to occupy Egypt, provisionally, the English would never be induced to permit it.

" When the expedition to Egypt took place we were at peace on the Continent; we had still a considerable fragment of our naval force in the Mediterranean; and we were in possession of the whole of Italy, Corfu, and Malta; a hope, too might have been indulged that we should obtain the consent of the Porte, at least tacitly; and thus we should have gained the end we proposed against the English; for it is my opinion, with that of all the world, that our proper view was, by alarming them for the safety of their Indian possessions, to force them into a peace advantageous for the Republic, by making the evacuation of Egypt an object of compensation for the restitution which we should, in that case, have required.

" But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes: it prevented us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us; it left the field free for the English to persuade the Porte to declare war against us; it rekindled that which was hardly extinguished with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Russians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occasioned the loss of Italy, and the invaluable possessions in the Adriatic, which we owed to the successful campaigns of Buonaparté; and, finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, since it was no longer possible for us to dream of giving the English any uneasiness in India: add to this, that the people of Egypt, whom we wished to consider as friends and allies, instantaneously became our enemies; and, entirely surrounded as we were by the Turks, we found ourselves engaged in a most difficult defensive war, without a glimpse of the slightest future advantage to be derived from it.

" At present, we can no longer flatter ourselves that the English will be prevailed on to agree to any equivalent in the articles of peace for the evacuation of Egypt. For, in the first place, they know perfectly well the degree of weakness and want to which we are reduced, and which renders it impossible to undertake anything against them: and in the second, that, even if we should receive succours (which they will use every means in their power to prevent) we should not, on that account, be a jot farther advanced while we have the Turks to contend with; and while they are assured that the Porte will not make peace without their consent, or without stipulating that the preliminary article for terminating the war shall be the evacuation of Egypt.

" Under this point of view our plan has totally failed, in as much as it can no longer affect the English; and thus, neither as a conquest nor a colony, can there be any farther pretence for keeping possession of Egypt.

"But there is yet another consideration; it is, that if we delay entering into a treaty (such is the state of weakness to which we are already reduced) there is reason to fear that we shall be too late; that the remainder of the army will perish, or that we shall be obliged to evacuate the country without any conditions at all: while, on the contrary, we have it at present in our power to make it the price of peace with the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary States, the strengthening our old connexions with Constantinople, and resuming in the Levant that exclusive commerce which we once enjoyed.

"This treaty, to which the English must be admitted as a party, will be a preparatory step to that peace which it is, at length, more than time to conclude with them. It will infallibly induce Russia to declare war against the Porte, and cause a diversion of the most important kind in our affairs in Europe; we might even hope to regain by it what we have lost in the Mediterranean.

"I have the greater confidence in this opinion, because I am persuaded, that the English cannot see without some uneasiness, and without a secret kind of jealousy, the progress of the Russians—a progress much more dangerous for them than our continental power, now that our navy is destroyed, and that we have lost our maritime conquests.

"The only event which could possibly enable us to preserve Egypt would be an immediate war between Russia and the Porte. All the Ottoman forces which are marching against us, would instantly fly to protect the centre of the empire. In such a case the Grand Seignior would grant us peace on any terms we might think proper to ask.

"But it is probable, that without a treaty of alliance between the French Republic and Russia, which might be useful to us at this moment, but which would certainly be impolitic, this last power will only wait till the Porte shall have made peace with us to declare war against her: for by fighting against the Turks we diminish his forces and his means. This is toiling for Russia, who, on her side, unable to make war against the Porte without forcing her to conclude a peace with us, attains her purpose, which is the destruction of that power, just as effectually by making war on the French, whom she knows to be her sole stay and support.

"The Ottoman Empire is generally regarded as an old edifice tottering to its fall. The European powers have long been preparing to divide its scattered fragments, and many politicians conceive that the catastrophe is close at hand. In this supposition, they think it but right that France should have her share of the spoils; and the part alloted to her is Egypt.

"If this fall of the Ottoman Empire (which is very far from being so certain, when we consider the discussions and the variety of op-

positions it would produce amongst the great powers of Europe, even among those who might have combined for this very object; when we consider, still further, that it will be eternally the interest of France, England, Prussia, and even the Empire, to oppose it); if this fall, I say, should, after all, take place, France will always be in time to have Egypt. Besides, the French will be invited there by the Turks themselves, whenever the latter find themselves menaced by the Russians, whom they mortally hate.

"France is so fine a country; the French are so powerful by their numbers, their riches, and their situation with respect to the other continental powers, that they cannot possibly gain anything by a total overthrow of the system of Europe; while, at the same time, this overthrow may give birth to a new and preponderating power, which shall deprive them of all their advantages in the Mediterranean.

"Weighing all these circumstances, Citizens Directors, I cannot but conclude, that we are too distant, and that events operate too rapidly, to permit us to wait for your orders before we take our resolution; at least, we cannot do so without compromising the interests of the Republic, the safety and the honour of the remains of the army.

"That we must infallibly evacuate Egypt, establishing, as the price of this sacrifice, a peace, together with all our ancient connexions, with the Ottomans, and the States of Barbary.

"That all which you have now to hope for, whatever may be your views on Egypt, depends upon the present intentions of General Kleber, which are, to retard the evacuation as long as possible, by the delays which he will endeavour to introduce into the negotiation; if, after all, we are happy enough to be permitted to negotiate.

"That, finally, if the evacuation should take place without waiting for your orders, it will only be because it was inevitable; and because, in the state of ignorance in which we all are respecting the real situation of France and of Europe, this evacuation was imperiously called for by prudence, and was not inconsistent with our political interests.

"Health and respect.

"E. POUSSIELGUE."

It is impossible to peruse this Letter without being obliged to acknowledge that the condition of the army was wholly hopeless, and that the artificial courage which had been raised by the chimerical and delusive promises of Buonaparté, was now changed into desperation. Apprehensions were, in fact, never better founded than those

here expressed; for not only were the mouths of the Nile all in danger of being blocked up by the Anglo-Turks, but the Pachas of the Desart were preparing to attack Cossier, on the side of the Red Sea, and Murad Bey was assembling the Mamelukes in the vicinity of Sifut. Desaix was thus obliged to be constantly on the alert in Upper Egypt; and though in every skirmish he gained the advantage, he was utterly incapable of assisting either the posts on the frontiers of the Desart or those of the Delta. Negociation, under those circumstances, was evidently the principal business to be attended to, and the English Commander having arrived off Damietta, with a large naval force, General Kleber gladly accepted an invitation from him to treat for the evacuation of Egypt.

Sir Sidney Smith informed Kleber, in a letter dated 26th of October, that Great Britain was not a mere auxilary, but a party concerned in the question discussed in Buonaparté's Letter. From the nature of the alliance between the Sublime Porte and Great Britain, Sir Sidney declared, that, although the free evacuation of Egypt might be agreed to by the Court of Constantinople, it required the approbation of the British Cabinet before it could be carried into effect; Kleber desired that the Grand Vizier would name two persons, on behalf of the Porte, to meet Desaix and the Administrator-general of Finances, Poussielgue, whom he would send to any place that might be appointed; and that, if the Commodore's ship should be named, he had no objections. The conferences were opened on board the Tigré, and much ingenuity was displayed by the French negociators to obtain more advantageous terms than their situation entitled them to. In the midst of the discussions the Ottoman army laid siege to El Arish, and captured it, after a very slight resistance from the French garrison; at that place therefore, the treaty was concluded and ratified between Sir Sidney and General Kleber, on the 24th of January, 1800. The conditions of the treaty were, principally, that the

French should evacuate Egypt within three months, that they should be allowed to proceed to France, with all their arms and baggage, and that the Turks should provide them with money, to supply them with necessaries, both during their stay in Egypt and during their voyage home.

THE END OF CHAP. IX.

CHAPTER X.

Buonaparté's Arrival in France....Remarks on the Power of the English East India Company....Seizure of Napper Tandy, &c. at Hamburgh, by Desire of the English Minister....Relative Situation of America, as a neutral maritime State, to the Belligerent Powers....Speech of General Washington to Congress, on the American Contraband Trade....Treaty of Commerce between England and America....Discontent of the French Party in America.... General Washington's Speech, detailing an Insurrection.... Growing Discontents of the Americans against the English and their own Government.

TO persons wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, it may seem extraordinary, that, at a time, when it was understood the British Government kept all the ports of Egypt, as it were, hermetically sealed, Buonaparté should have ventured to defy its vigilance; and enter upon so dangerous a voyage. Such persons will, however, be much more supprised to find, that in the midst of so diligent a look-out, this terrific Commander could put to sea unobserved, and again traverse the Mediterranean, without being met by one single vessel belonging to a nation which spent that year £13,647,000, to purchase the dominion of the ocean! Persons of this sort were heard to charge the British admiralty with neglience on account of this escape, but, Buonaparté himself, who was less displeased upon the occasion, attributes it to his "good fortune."

On his voyage nothing remarkable happened; and it is only said of it, that he sometimes played and laughed with his companions, and amused himself with geometry and chemistry on board the ship. On arriving off the coast

of Corsica, a storm obliged the vessel to enter the port of Ajaccio, his native town, where the reception he met with from his countrymen was precisely such as the *eclat* of his victories was calculated to procure. At Corsica he learned the extent of the calamities that France had suffered, and again set out for the French coast, of which he was within sight, when the sailors discovered some English ships, amounting to seven sail. The topmasts were lowered with a view to escape observation, and it was proposed to return to Corsica; but Buonaparté assumed the command, and insisted upon making for the coast of Provence, where he arrived safe, in the midst of an astonished multitude, who refused to credit the fact upon the mere hoisting of his flag at the mast-head, and was only convinced of the reality, when they beheld him in the bosom of their encircling crowds. When the Directory at Paris were informed that Buonaparté had landed at Frejus, from Egypt, they made known the General's arrival to the Two Councils, who received the message with cries of *Vive la Republique!* The General remained at Frejus only one hour, while a carriage was procured to take him to Paris, and he arrived at the Capital on the 16th of October, being hailed on every side, during his journey, with the cry of "Peace! Peace!" as if the nation sighed for that blessing only, and expected it at his hands alone.

It is a peculiarity in the history of this extraordinary character, that a great variety of circumstances, have always combined to promote his interest upon occasions when it is extremely probable that his own intrinsic merit would have produced him little or no advantage. The circumstance of his departure from France, with the flower of the army, at a moment when the country was most precariously situated, would, of itself, have marked him out as an object of public resentment at any other time; but the almost total annihilation of that army, and such a loss, aggravated by its abandonment on a distant

and inhospitable shore, must have drawn upon him the execrations of every Frenchman, had not France found herself humbled to the very dust by the terror and apprehensions arising from her situation, internal, as well as external.

The English had not been more successful in destroying the Egyptian Expedition than in securing the grand object of the French envy, under the influence of which it had been undertaken. Not only had the British army in the East Indies overturned the throne of Tippoo, and slain him in the midst of his Capital; but, the victors immediately exercised the rights of conquest. A Proclamation was issued by the British Commander, from Seringapatam, declaring that the late Sultan had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpose of commencing war against the East India Company and its Allies; and it charged him with other instances of hostility, and finally, decreed, that a great portion of his immense territories should be subjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company and its Allies; and that a seperate government should be established in Mysore, under a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore.

Thus, did the English East India Company acquire a vast accession of territorial strength, by the overthrow of one of the most restless and indefatigable princes with whom they had ever contended. New streams of wealth flowed from this conquest into the Company's coffers, and their army, which had achieved the exploit, shared a liberal portion of the deceased Prince's treasure. If the mind were not habituated to the progress of the East India Company's wars, it would be curious to learn the causes of that eternal hostility between a commercial company and the natives of the country, whither its trade is directed. If we were not accustomed to hear of "the success of the Company's arms," we should feel much

surprise, that a band of London merchants, having an exclusive privilege over their fellow merchants by the mere sufferance of the Government, and trading, as a chartered body of monopolists, to India, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the esteem of the native princes and dealing with their subjects to mutual advantage, should wage a continued war with them. Custom, however, cools our curiosity, and our surprise at an event, insensibly subsides, on observing a continued succession of similar circumstances. Hence, we no longer wonder that a combination of traders should unite war to commerce, send out armies as well as fleets, and conquer as well as colonize; hence we become indifferent spectators of the conduct of a few merchants, who, from their accompting house in Leadenhall Street, decree the fate of millions of human beings, in climes, they never saw, and who regulate the interests of nations which they know of but by name!

In the instance alluded to, however, the East India Company stand perfectly justified. The proofs of Tippoo's treachery were numerous and incontestible, and his overthrow was sudden; for, although he meditated an attack upon the English, he did not suppose that they were acquainted with his design. Being taken by surprise, and the supplies of troops which he had secretly stipulated for from the French, not having arrived, Seringapatam was carried by storm, and his treachery was dreadfully punished, by the loss of his dominions and his life.

The very great trade which is secured by this enormous power of the English East India Company, to the ports of Great Britain, are sources of national wealth that are properly estimated by the Government; and, if the Company's concerns are injured in India, the British revenue would be proportionably decreased. Unassailable, but by slow and tedious operations, in Europe, it was natural that a man of so much enterprise and ambition as

Buonaparté, should endeavour to cripple England by some decisive blow in another quarter. The motives for his expedition to Egypt, and its various fortunes, until the time when he sailed for Europe, have been already detailed.

It is much to be lamented, that nations, as well as individuals, are apt to assume a haughty carriage whenever fortune happens to prosper their endeavours: a remarkable instance of this kind took place in the conduct of Great Britain towards the free, but petty and feeble, city of Hamburg; whose territory it most outrageously violated, by the instrumentality of Sir James Crawford its minister. It has been related, in a former volume, that Napper Tandy, accompanied by General Rey, and some troops, attempted to land on the North of Ireland, but put to sea on learning the issue of the Rebellion. The vessel in which Tandy and his companions were, was driven by a storm on the coast of Norway; where, apprehending that, in navigating the North Sea, they should fall in with some English cruisers, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their route, and of their object being received at Hamburg, shortly after they had arrived there, Sir James Crawford applied for a warrant to arrest them, as subjects of England: after much demur, it was granted, and Napper Tandy, with his associates, were apprehended, put in irons, and confined in seperate guard-houses. Citizen Marragon, the French Minister, instantly claimed the prisoners as citizens of the French Republic, and threatened to quit Hamburg if they were not immediately released; Sir James has positively demanded that they should be detained. The Senate, greatly alarmed by the determined tone of both the ministers, deliberated on the last means of conciliating each, after the steps that had been taken by the magistrates. At length, the prisoners were unironed, and it was assented to by Citizen Marragon, that they should remain in custody and be sent to England,

on condition that only the formality of a trial should be adopted; Sir James Crawford agreeing to this arrangement, the prisoners were put on board the Xenophon frigate, at Hamburg, which immediately sailed for Cuxhaven, and they arrived in Ireland on the 17th of November, 1799. The city of Hamburg had been much alarmed by the threats of the French Resident, and the citizens in general, disapproved the measure as a violation of their neutrality, which would, probably, subject them to the displesure of the French Government. It is impossible to review this transaction without tracing in it evident marks of the imbecility of the French Government. This was attacking the lion in his very den, and it was an instance of temerity, that would hardly have been hazarded, had not the distracted state of the Directory rendered it incapable of exerting those energies, which, a few months before, had made the French arms the terror of Europe.

It was the peculiar misfortune of this war to subject the peaceful citizens of neutral powers, alternately, to the evil of one or other, and sometimes, both, of the Belligerents, and, during a very long period, it seemed that the Western world would have been plunged into all the horrors of this sanguinary contest. The enterprising spirit of the Americans had early engaged them in the various commercial speculations, which the obstacles thrown in the way of the maritime transactions of the Belligerent Powers left open to competition. This spirit frequently led the trans-at-lantic merchants beyond the limits of fair and legitimate commerce, and exposed them, alternately, to the censure of one or other of the contending powers. As early as 1793, the murmurs upon this head were so loudly expressed, that General Washington, President of the United States, thought it necessary to prepare the public mind for the discussions to which the state of things might probably give rise; and, in a Speech delivered by him, to Congress, on the

3rd of December, in that year, are the following observations;

"As soon as the war in Europe had engaged those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed, therefore, to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal states of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the Proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

"In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States; these were reduced into a system which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France, to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equiped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

"It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce, this plan of procedure; and, it will, probably, be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

"As several of the courts have doubted, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property, and have denied their power to liberate

certain captures within the protection of our territory, it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts; when, for his own information, he shall request it.

" A decree however, of the National Assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy's goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time as to the United States, has been since extended to their vessels also, as has been recently stated to us. Representations on this subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result will be communicated to the legislature.

" I have respected and pursued the stipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true sense; and have withheld no act of friendship which their affairs have called for from us, and which justice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further:—rather than employ force for the restitution of certain vessels, which, I deemed the United States bound to restore, I thought it more adviseable to satisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that, if the restitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compensation. The papers now communicated will more particularly apprise you of these transactions."

From the commencement of the war the belligerent powers acted upon what is called the principle of the war of 1756, that is, they made it a rule to seize, capture, and confiscate, the property of the enemy, wherever they might find it. A very short season left the British entire masters of the seas and, therefore, it was to them that the contraband trade, carried on by neutrals, was principally injurious. Against the cruisers of that power, a cry was very soon raised in America; and the French faction,

which was extremely powerful in all the maritime countries, kept up an incessant clamour against the "oppression and tyranny" that subjected neutrals to search and detention. Free ships, it was pretended, constituted free goods, and, there were even wise men who laid down the monstrous proposition, that all the commerce of the enemy should be allowed to pass freely, provided he could find neutrals base enough to cover it for him as their own.

The encroaching spirit of America frequently assumed such a boisterous form, that it became necessary to adjust the disputes that had arisen between the government of the United State and that of Great Britain. In the discussions it was easily to be observed that the American government was not influenced by the same unreasonable disposition as the citizens of that country were, and the claims it advanced were evidently more the effect of a sense of duty as agents than of their principles as men. The British Government wished to conciliate this disposition, and the result was, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was concluded between the two powers on the 19th of November, 1794. In concluding this treaty, the negociators, on both sides, entered into a compromise, for the sake of peace, but the advantage was all on the side of America; for whilst America consented that the belligerent power should retain the right of search, Great Britain agreed that "The merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, should be carried in neutral vessels."

This was substantially granted to America all she wanted; for, it was abandoning the rule of the war of 1756, and it was enabling every American, for about forty shillings-worth of perjury, to transport a cargo of French, Spanish, or Dutch property, from sea to sea, as his own. The only apology for this treaty was, that it was only designed as a temporary experiment, and was to

expire at the end of two years after the termination of the war, when it was stipulated, that the contending parties should "endeavour to agree, whether in any, and in what cases, neutral vessels should protect enemies property."

Notwithstanding the advantages the concession of the British cabinet gave to the French, nothing was more foreign to the hearts of the partisans of that nation than contentment with them. In America the very temper and mildness of the government was taken as a fair ground to anticipate the result of the negociation, and pains were taken to sow discontents upon the most unfounded pretences. Even the Minister of France (Genet) had the temerity to distribute inflamatory writings amongst the people, and his example was followed by his agents after the American government had insisted upon his recal.

On assembling the legislature, in the session of 1794-5, the President, Washington, detailed the particulars of an insurrection, that had actually taken place; which, as it serves to shew the character of the government of the time, and will throw much light upon some subsequent transactions, we shall give in his own words:

"*Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.*

"When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American People became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret, do I announce to you, that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States, have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

"During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient

to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the states, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men, who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented; and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented did not correspond with what it deserved—The arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals. The very forbearance to press prosecutions, was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a mere formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued, was unavailing; and that farther delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the Marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

"No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the Inspector of the Revenue: They fired upon the Marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the ser-

vice of other processes on the West side of the Alleghany Mountains; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him, to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the Inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally, destroyed by fire, his buildings, and whatsoever they contained Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government, it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were to compel the resignation of the Inspector; to withstand, by force of arms, the authority of the United States, and thereby, to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

"Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me, 'That in the counties of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania, the laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of that district.' On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and over-awed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen; to publish the dishonour of such excesses, to encounter the expence, and other embarrassments, of so distant an expedition—were steps too delicate—too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the

militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that, if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

"My proclamation of the 7th of August last, was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorised to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion: to represent, however, that, without submission, coercion must be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanour of faithful citizens, by such accomodations as lay within the sphere of executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

"Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by showing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe to the mild form which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive to recommend or warrant the farther suspension or march of the milita.

"Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the Insurgents, in my proclamation of the 20th of September last.

"It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy,

and the care of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish an estimate. —My great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion 15,000 men, as being an army which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate, in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; the Governor of Pennsylvania, having declared, on this occasion, an opinion which justified a requisition to the other states.

"As Commander-in-Chief of the milita, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion, that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive, and I trust, ever will, receive, against the vicious and turbulent; I should have caught with avidity that opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and homes. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done: it being now confessed, by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the Insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed to a particular law, but that a spirit, inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason of the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue as will rebound

to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the governors of Virginia.

"Still, however, as it is probable that, in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force, for a certain period, in the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

"Thirty days, from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

"Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the Revenue, but other officers in the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property.—The obligations and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence shall find a recompense in its liberality.

"While there is a cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should

have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortunate. It has been demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican governments, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks, as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the states to which my requisitions have been addressed.

"To every descripton, indeed, of citizens let praise be given. But let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious repository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And, when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection; let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance, or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government."

Of this insurrection, it is only necessary to add, that, it

was quelled on the first appearance of the troops, but, the spirit in which it originated remained unbroken, and when news of the treaty of amity, commerce, &c arrived in the United States, the partisans of France were determined to make that treaty the instrument of overthrowing the government. The President did not announce the result of the negociation till above a year after the treaty had been signed, and the French Government, in the interim, did all that was possible to annoy the American commerce. Every argument was used to persuade the Americans, that their government had betrayed its trust, and, beside the complaints circulated upon the ground of captures, much stress was laid upon the mistakes, that the British officers sometimes committed, in pressing American seamen for Englishmen.

The violent party gained strength considerably by declaiming upon the ill consequences which their lively imaginations predicted would result from the treaty, and it was resolved to make a motion in the House of Representatives, which should lead to a vote of censure upon the government for having sanctioned it. In pursuance of this determination, a resolution passed the house, May, 24th, 1796, to demand from the President a copy of the instructions that had been given to Mr. Jay, the Minister who had negociated the treaty, to which General Washington made the following reply:

"*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.*

"WITH the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th inst. requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty; excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

"In deliberating on this subject it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed

in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

"I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him, by either house of Congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be, while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution," will permit.

"The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and, even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniencies, perhaps, danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the principle upon which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

"It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold

any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require to be disclosed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the Senate when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

"The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house leads to some observation on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

"Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject; and, from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and that every treaty so made and promulgated thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they become obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every house of representatives has, heretofore, acquiesced; and, until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for, until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

"There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions, when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required, in commercial treaties, the consent of two-thirds, of the whole Senate, instead of two-thirds of the

senators, present; and because, in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

"It is a fact declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession; and it is well known, that, under this influence, the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the Senate with the larger states, and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers; for, on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states was deemed essentially to depend.

"If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state: in those journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, "that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law," and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

"As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as a treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution, between the different departments, should be preserved—a just regard to the constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON".

THE END OF CHAP. X.

CHAPTER XI.

Discontents in America....The Struggles between the French and the English Parties....The Ascendency of the mercantile Interest and Ratification of the English Treaty. ....The Resignation of the Presidency of the United States, by General Washington....His important Declaration on going into Retirement....Intrigues previous to the Choice of the new President....Decree of the French Directory, delivered by Citizen Adet to Mr. Pickering....Citizen Adet's Note and Mr. Pickering's Answer....Mr. Adams chosen President.

ALTHOUGH the firm and dignified conduct of the President served to encourage and consolidate the friends of government, it by no means weakened the opposition; the Congress, and the House of Representatives, both refused to ratify the treaty or to pass the laws necessary to carry it into effect. The whole country was now reduced to a state of alarm; trade became at a stand, as it was thought that the opposition would not be satisfied till they had plunged their country into a war with England; mercantile people, and all persons of property, dreaded the consequences, and it was impossible to insure the ships that were wanted to be sent to sea. These troubles were greatly fomented by vast numbers of strangers, who, having been imbued with French principles, and become dissatisfied with their own countries in consequence, had sought refuge in America, where they soon found as much to find fault with as they had seen at home, and were desirous of creating that land anew, because they could find no new one to go to. All these put themselves under the guidance of the French emissaries, and strove to bring about a rupture with England. At length, the mercantile interest prevailed, and the partisans of peace,

after remonstrating with the legislative body, had the satisfaction of getting the ratification consummated, though by a very small majority.

The study of American politics has not yet become interesting to Europe; but, the events of which we are now speaking, will be dwelt upon with considerable attention by posterity, as having led to the most sublime display of moral greatness that the annals of mankind have yet recorded. The resignation of General Washington, after having been twice chosen President of the Imperial Republic, and after having exercised the supreme power in a way that proved him superior to every rival opposition, evinced an instance of pure loyalty and virtue that warrant a fair hope in the improvement of mankind. Whatever may be the analogies that posterity will have to trace in the biography of Washington and Buonaparté, time only can develope; for the present, we can see nothing more, than that they both lived in the same age and both conquered the enemies of their country: this, however, will always be motive enough for considering their characters together; and, in studying the life of Buonaparté, it will always be profitable to consider the resignation of Washington. This event, like every other that regards that great Man, is so much better accounted for in his own words than in any other person's narration, that it would be unpardonable to relate it in any other form than that of his own Declaration to his fellow citizens.

"To the People of the United States.

"Friends and fellow Citizens,

"The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust; it appears to me proper, especially at it may conduce to a more dis-

tinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

" I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

" The acceptance of, and continuance, hitherto, in the office, to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an Address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

" I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety: and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

" The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion: in

the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps, still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome: satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise; and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amid appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations, in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affec-

tion may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar, occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

"The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this

is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of America, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religious manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

"The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common govern-

ment, finds, in the production of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and, in the progressive improvement of inferior communications by land and water, will, more and more, find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.

"The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensible outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption of those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own

rival ships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and imbitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it; to listen to mere speculations in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment; it is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to disturb the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as matter of very serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they will tend to render alien to each other

those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have, lately, had an useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the union, by which they were procured? will they not, henceforth, be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensible. No alliance, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must, inevitably, experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims

of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency; they serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising, minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may, now-and-then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp to themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happpy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method

of assault may be, to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, form the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and, remember, especially, that, for the efficient managment of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensible. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian: it is, indeed, little else than a name, were the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises or factions, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

"This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind: it exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has

perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a most horrid despotism; but this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns his diposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

"It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration; it agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effects ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands an uniform

vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

" It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroch upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional power be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

" Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensible supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious

man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexion with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government: the rule, indeed, extends with more or less force, to every species of free governments. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt; not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in the time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion

should co-operate. To facilitate then the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be a revenue; that to have a revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less, inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of their proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining a revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no great distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind a magnanimous, and too novel an example, of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? the experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices!

"In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential, than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave; it is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur: hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives; the peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty, of nations, has been the victim.

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and, infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and, by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opieion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

"As the avenues to foreign influence, in innumerable ways, such attachments, are particularly alarming to the

truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens!) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove the foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealousy to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or her enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people,

under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation: when we may chuse peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantage of so pecular a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for, let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

"Takng care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, by forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best

that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate, constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favour from another; that it must pay, with a proportion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish: that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may, now and then, recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to ware against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22nd of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approved voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the

spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

" After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

" The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

" The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

" The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to make progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

" Though, in reviewing the incidents of administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and, that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the

faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realise, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

"G. WASHINGTON."

United States Sep, 17, 1796.

It was not enough for the French party to have succeeded in disgusting the President with the government, they were desirous of getting a successor appointed who should be of their own party; and, with this view, they not only endeavoured to influence the electors in favour of Mr. Jefferson, but to cast a degree of odium upon the government by reiterated complaints and threats of war. A Decree was solemnly passed by the Executive Directory, and was pompously delivered by the French Minister, Adet, to Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, on the 27th of October, 1796.

DECREE:

"THE Executive Directory, considering, that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions, which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers commercial advantage (if they should turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motive) it would, *ipso facto*, warrant the inexecution of the article in which they were stipulated—decrees as follows:

'All neutral or allied powers shall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French Republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them.'

spirit, the Minister of Foreign Relations is charged with the execution of the present resolve, which shall be printed.

(A true copy.) "CARNOT, President."

The Decree was accompanied by the following Note, to which the Secretary of State gave the annexed Answer:

NOTE

PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE BY CITIZEN ADET.

"THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conformity to the orders of his Government, has the honour of transmitting to the Secretary of State of the United States, a Resolution, taken by the Executive of the French Republic, on the 11th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the Republic are to hold toward neutral vessels: 'The flag of the Republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.'

"The sentiments which the American Government have manifested to the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary do not permit him to doubt, that they will see in its true light this measure, as far as it may concern the United States; and that they will also feel that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

"Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the Republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge, scourges still more terrible. She has roused the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties—knowing that it was a principle of the Republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British Government from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and, in particular, American vessels, to be detained, taken them into their ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would have taken steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States, but he was not successful. Nevertheless, the National Convention, who, by their decree

of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23rd of the same month, the Americans from this general order. But the Convention was obliged soon to repeal the law, which contained this exception so favourable to the Americans: the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France, rendered it unavoidable.

"The National Convention by this had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794; but as soon as they were informed, that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatious measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 12th Nivose, 3rd year, to the ships of war of the Republic to respect American vessels, and the Committee of Public Safety, in their explanatory Resolve of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principle. The National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety had every reason to believe, that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French Republic. They were deceived in this hope; and, though a treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States, had been signed six weeks before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of, the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, and continued to stop and carry into their ports, all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

"This conduct was the subject of a note which the undersigned addressed on the 7th Vendemaire (29th September, 1793, O. S.) to the Secretary of State. The remonstrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his Letter to Mr. Pinckney, dated the 13th of September, 1794. Yet this Note had remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the Secretary of State by a dispatch of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) and American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more;

they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon Americans: they have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expense of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interest of France, as the undersigned hath set forth in his dispatches to the Secretary of State of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) 19th Germinal, (8th of April, 1796,) and 1st Floreal, (20th April, 1796,) which have remained without an answer.

"The French government, then, finds itself, with respect to America, at the present time, in circumstances similar to those of the year 1795; and if it sees itself obliged to abandon with respect to them, and neutral powers in general, the favourable line of conduct they pursued, and to adopt different measures, the blame should fall upon the British Government: it is their conduct which the French Government has been obliged to follow.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary conceives it to be his duty to remark to the Secretary of State, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the Republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since, in keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the right of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the Republic will respect them. But if, through weakness, partiality, or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain if France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages; and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain, if the other belligerent powers will enjoy advantages, which its enemy enjoys, or if it seizes on them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate with respect to it from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develope these principles. He does not doubt that the Secretary of State feels all their force; and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation, a neutrality which France has always respected, and will always respect, whenever her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the Secretary of State the assurance of his esteem; and informs him, at the same time, that he will cause this Note to be printed, in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the present juncture, influence the French Republic."

"Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (27th of October, 1799, O. S.)"

(Signed) "P. A. ADET."

ANSWER

TO CITIZEN ADET'S NOTE TO THE SECRETAY OF STATE.

SIR, *Department of State, Nov.* 1, 1796.

"I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Note, of the 27th ult. covering a Decree of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

"This Decree makes no distinction between neutral powers, who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French Republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the Republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies, found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If toward such neutral nations the French Republic has forborne to exercise this right, the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

"In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods*: that is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods, (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation while France remained at peace—then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels were also to be free from capture: this is plainly expressed in the 23rd article of that treaty, and demonstrates, that the reciprocity thereby sipulated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties and of the other at another time. At the present time the United States being at peace, they possess, by the treaty, the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the Executive Directory and the current of your observations require? that the United States should

now, gratuitously renounce this right! And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? your own words furnish the answer: 'France, *bound by treaty* to the United States, could *find only a real disadvantage* in the article of that treaty, which required to be respected, as American property, English property found on board American vessels.' This requisition, and the reasons assigned to support it, alike excite surprise. The American Government, Sir, conscious of the purity of its integrity, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot, for a moment, admit, that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French Republic, whose friendship, moreover, it has ever cultivated with perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the National Convention, was recognised anew by the repeal of that decree; why it should be again questioned we are at a loss to determine. We are ignorant of any new restraints on our commerce by the British Government; on the contrary, we possess recent official information, that *no new orders have been issued.* The captures made by the British of American vessels, having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations: the force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States when they formed their treaty of commerce, and their stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an universal rule. Neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations.

"You are pleased to remark, that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing American vessels bound to and from the French ports, had been the subject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, you addressed to the Secretary of State, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for omission—The subject, in all its aspects, had been already officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions, been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these: 'It must, then, be clear to every man, who will discard prejudice, love, hatred, and, in a word, all the passions which lead judgment astray, that the French Republic would have a right to complain, when the American Government suffered the English to interrupt the commercial relations which exist between her and the United States; if, by a *perfidious condescension*, it permitted the English to violate a right, which it ought, *for its honour and interest*, to defend; if, under the *cloak of neutrality*, it presented to England a

poignard, to cut the throat of its faithful ally! if, in fine, *partaking in the tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain,* it *concurred* to plunge the people of France into the horrors of famine?' For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

"You are, also, pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impressing of American seamen by British ships, and complain, that the Government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken, to obtain satisfaction. This, sir, was a matter which concerned only that government as an independent nation; we were not bound to render an account to any other, of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens, so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

"But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of the Executive Directory; as before observed, we are officially informed, that the British government have issued no orders for capturing the vessels of the United States—We are also officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States, at Paris, applied for information—'Whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels; and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that none such would be issued in case the British did not seize our vessels.' This communication, from the Minister of the United States at Paris to their Ministers in London, was dated the 28th of August. But the decree of the Directory bears date the 14th Messidor, answering to the 2nd of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your Note, leave the American Government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government of France. Allow me to ask, whether in the acutal state of things; our commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new restrictions on the part of the French Republic? Whether the restraints now exercised by the British Government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nations? Whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war and privateers of the French Republic to capture the vessels of the United States? And what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders?

"These questions, sir, you will see, are highly interesting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government feels itself reduced to the necessity of asking an explanation of this nature; and if it shall be informed, that a new line of conduct is to be adopted toward this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its surprise will equal its regret, that principles should now be questioned, which, after repeated discussions, both here and in France, have been

demonstrated to be founded, as we conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of stipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, sir, you will find it convenient, by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the questions above stated.

" I shall close this Letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your Note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in such time and manner, as it shall think fit, to the citizens of the United States.

" I am, sir, &c.

" TIMOTHY PICKERING."

" To M. Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic."
Philadelphi, Nov. 3, 1796.

Whilst citizen Adet was thus endeavouring to rouse the French party in America, by his inflammatory appeals, the Directory calculated so strongly upon being able to influence the election, and get a president chosen from among their friends, that they refused to acknowledge the ambassador, apointed by the existing government, to reside at Paris. They were, however, disappointed, and Mr. John Adams, of what was called, in France, the English party, was chosen to the chief magistracy.

THE END OF CHAP. XI.

CHAPTER XII.

Moderation of the new American Government....Capture of American Vessels by the French....Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, sent to Paris, as Envoys to adjust existing Differences....Talleyrand refuses to receive them officially....They are inveigled into a very strange Intrigue ....The Account they published of this extraordinary Transaction....The American Envoys quit Paris in disgust.... Ferment in America on the Ambassadors making their Report....Energetic Language of the Secretary Pickering on the Conduct of the French Government.

PRINCIPLES of extreme moderation marked the conduct of the new American government; and, though the corsairs of France seized upon all American vessels, and condemned them upon the most frivolous pretences, the Philadelphian Government did not make reprisal, but hoped to bring the enemy to reason by amicable negociation. An embassy, consisting of the envoys extraordinary, was sent to France in the summer of 1797, with full powers to adjust the differences between the two governments; and the whole spirit of their instructions were conformable to the ensuing paragraph.

"Conscious integrity authorises the government to insist, that no blame or censure be, directly or indirectly, imputed to the United States. But, on the other hand, however execptionable in the view of our own Government, and in the eyes of an impartial world may have been the conduct of France, yet she may be unwilling to acknowledge any aggressions, and we do not wish to wound her feelings or to excite resentment. It will, therefore, be best to adopt on this point the principle of the British treaty, and terminate our differences in such manner, as, without referring to the merits of our respec-

tive complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding.'"

Upon the arrival of the ministers, PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, and GERRY at Paris, they were to obtain an audience of the French minister for Foreign Affairs, but they could only obtain permission to pay him a private visit to deliver their full powers. Those powers the Minister perused, and put in his pocket, but would neither present the ambassador to the Directory, or receive them officially himself. After the envoys had been sometime left to puzzle themselves as to what line of conduct the French designed, or that they should be obliged to pursue, a person in a respectable situation (Mr. W.) called upon them, to tell them that another respectable person (Mr. X.) would call upon them; and when Mr. X. did call, he told them that he was authorised by Mr. Y. who was directed by the minister Talleyrand, to inform them that the Directors were very angry with America, but he wished to bring about a reconciliation; and, as they all wanted pocket-money very much, if the envoys would give the Ministers 50,000*l.* to divide between him and the Directors, and would give 32,000,000 of florins for 16,000,000 worth of Dutch rescriptions, held by France; he would undertake to meditate a peace, and to appease the wrath of their Republican majesties. The Americans, unhacknied in the ways of Paris, suffered themselves to be bamboozled by these unacredited swindlers for about ten days, in the course of which they were frequently told, that the destruction of England was inevitable; that, therefore, the arts of that nation would go over to America, if she was wise enough to secure the forbearance of France; that, if she should be weak enough to place any reliance upon the friendship of England, the fate of Venice would certainly overtake her; and that they might form some opinion of what would be the con-

sequence of provoking the resentment of the Directors, by the treatment that the Portuguese Ambassador had received a few days before. He, they were told, had been sent about his business, with the insulting intelligence, that an army should follow upon his heels, till it got possession of the whole of his country.

Talleyrand has attempted to disavow his connexion with the instruments of this intrigue; but, notwithstanding all the art with which it was managed on their part, and the inertness of the incautious Americans, it will be very difficult to reconcile the innocence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with his having dispatched Mr. Z. just at the time when the Envoys had refused to treat with W. X. Y.; and, when he himself makes the identical proposal to fill the Dutch rescriptions.

It was at the moment when peace was first concluded with the Emperor, that Talleyrand saw the probable failure of his scheme with regard to the bribe and the loan, and he hoped to terrify the Envoys into submission, by representing to them, in a strong light, the new situation that their country was placed in, in consequence of France having her forces disengaged. The subsequent Narrative of the ministers will be sufficient to characterise the whole transaction:

"On the 27th of October, about twelve we received another visit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the papers, and then said, that some proposals from us had been expected on the subject on which we had before conversed; that the Directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America if we could not soften them. We answered, that on that subject we had already spoken explicitly, and had nothing further to add. He mentioned the change in the state of things, which had been produced by the peace with the Emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been ex-

pected by us, and would not, in any degre, affect our conduct. Mr. X. urged, that the Directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us and all other neutral nations than had been before taken; that it had been determined that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered, that such an effect had already been contemplated by us as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this position our decided answer; and further, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money; that our government had not contemplated such a circumstance in any degree whatever; that, if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France and expose ourselves. Mr. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men, he said, would, very probably, not continue long in power; and it would be very unfortunate, if those who might succeed, with better disposition towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that on a change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accomodated: we added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war would be; that at present our commerce was plundered and unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. Mr. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connexion with Britain; and we answered, that we hoped so too: that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its injuries; that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that, if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. Mr. X. again returned to the subject of money: said he, "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the

point—it is money: it is expected that you will offer money."—We said we had spoken to that point very explicitly: we had given an answer. "No," said he, "you have not; what is your answer?" "We replied, it is no; no; not a sixpence." He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favour. He said we ought to consider what men we had to treat with; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them; that they disregarded their own colonies; and considered themselves as perfectly invulnerable with respect to us; that we could only acquire an interest among them by a judicious application of money; and it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country did not require that these means should be resorted to. We observed, that the conduct of the French Government was such as to leave us much reason to fear, that, should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. He said, that, when we employed a lawyer, we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cause would be gained or no; but it was necessary to have one, and we paid for his services, whether those services were successful or not: so, in the present state of things, the money must be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of those good offices. We told him, there was no parallel in the cases; that a lawyer, not being to render the adjudgment, could not command success: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and, consequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours; but the Directory could decide on the issue of our negociation. It had only to order that no more American vessels should be seized, and to direct those now in custody to be restored, and there could be no opposition to the order. He said, that all the members of

the Directory were not disposed to receive our money: that Merlin, for instance, was paid from another quarter, and would touch no part of the *douceur* which was to come from us. We replied, that we understood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an assent to the fact. He proceeded to press this subject with vast perseverence. He told us that we paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines and with the Indians; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was answered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either Algiers or the Indian tribes, it was understood that money was to form the basis of the treaty, and was its essential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of course; but, that in treating with France, our government had supposed that the proposition, such as he spoke of, would, if made by us, give mortal offence.

"He asked, if our government did not know, that nothing was to be obtained here without money? We replied, that our government had not even suspected such a state of things.—He appeared supprised at it, and said, there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information. We told him that the letters of our Minister had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France, and had represented it as acting entirely upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and disinterested affection for America. He looked somewhat surprised, and said, briskly, to General Pinckney; "Well, Sir, you have been a long time in France and in Holland —what do you think of it?" General Pinckney answered that he considered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth, and of consequence, he could have but one opinion on the subject.—He stated that Hamburg and other states of Europe were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our interest to do so. Once more he spoke on the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could resist. We told him, that it

would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the solicitude we felt to avoid a contest with it; that no nation estimated her power more highly than America, or wished more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was still dearer to us than the friendship of France—which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral station; she had a right to take it; no nation had a right to force us out of it; that to lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requisite for war but money, was to reliquish our neutrality, and take part in the war; to lend this money under the lash and coercion of France, was to relinquish the government of ourselves, and to submit to a foreign government imposed upon us by force; that we would at least make one manly struggle before we thus surrendered our national independence; that our case was different from one of the minor nations in Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so: America was a great, and, so far as concerned her self-defence, a powerful nation; she was able to maintain her independence; and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her; that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the last hundred, and might probably be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives which could induce her to involve herself in those wars; and that if she now preserved her neutrality and her independence, it was most probable that she would not in future be afraid, as she had been for four years past; but if she now surrendered her rights of self-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, she could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He said that France had lent us money during our Revolution war, and only required that we should now exhibit the same friendship for her. We answered, that the cases were very different: that America solicited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or re-

fuse it; but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the subject. We also told him, there was another difference in the cases; that the money was lent by France for great national and French objects; it was lent to maim a rival, and an enemy whom she hated; that the money, if lent by America, would no be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend still further her conquests. The conversation continued for nearly two hours; and the public and private advance of money was pressed and repressed in a variety of forms. At length M. X. said that he did not blame us; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it: but he showed decidedly his opinion to be that we could not keep it. He said that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our conversation to the Minister, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the Minister; we are not certain which. We then separated. On the 22nd of October, M. Z. a French gentleman, of respectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Relations, who professed to be well disposed towards the United States, had expected to have seen the American Ministers frequently in their private capacities, and to have conferred with them individually on the objects of their mission; and had authorised M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter sent for his colleagues, and a conference was held with M. Z. on the subject, in which General Pinckney and General Marshall expressed their opinions, that, not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand, they could not with propriety call on him; but that, according to the custom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23rd, and, with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the first introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He said, that the Directory had passed an arrête, which he offered for perusal, in

which they had demanded of the Envoys an explanation of some parts, and a reparation for others, of the President's speech to Congress of the 16th of May last: he was sensible, he said, that difficulties would exist on the part of the Envoys, relative to the demand: but that by their offering money, he thought he could prevent the effect of the arrête. M. Z. at the request of Mr. Gerry, having stated the Envoys have no such powers; M. Talleyrand replied, they can in such case take a power on themselves; and proposed that they should make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addressed M. Talleyrand distinctly, in English, which he said he understood, and stated, that the uneasiness of the Directory, resulting from the President's speech, was a subject unconnected with the objects of the mission; that M. Barras, in his speech to Mr. Munroe, on his recal, had expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the Government and citizens of the United States; that the President, as the Envoys conceived, had made such observations on M. Barras's Speech as were necessary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not considered by our government as a subject of dispute between the two nations; that, having no instructions respecting it, we could not make any explanations, or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himself was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the United States to be convinced of the truth of these observations.

"Mr. Gerry further stated, that the powers of the Envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the discussion and adjustment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty, or, if necessary, form a new one; that the United States were anxiously desirous of removing all causes of complaint between themselves and France, and of renewing their former friendship and intercourse on terms which would be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations, but not on any other terms; that, as to a loan,

we had no powers whatever to make one; that if we were to attempt it we should deceive himself and the Directory likewise, which, as men of honour, we could not do; but that we could send one of our number for instructions on this proposition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negotiation could be discussed and adjusted; that, as he had expressed a desire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wish of Mr. Gerry that such a conference should take place, and their opinions thus be ascertained, which he conceived corresponded with his own in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in answer, said, he should be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter about the money must be settled directly, without sending to America; that he would not communicate the arrête for a week; and that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would nevertheless go to the United States for a loan. A courier arrived at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and desired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry what he, M. Talleyrand, had said to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z. took down the particulars of this interview, as before stated, sent for Generals Pinckney and Marshall, and read it to them, in the presence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marshall then desired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the arrête might be delayed on their account."

It would be endless to detail the whole system of chicanery that the ministers suffered until they took the resolution to hear no more. Messrs. Pickering and Marshall refused to continue in France after the insulting treatment that they had received during four months, and in February 1798 returned to America. Mr. Gerry

waited the orders of his government, and was recalled, after having exposed himself to be inveigled by Talleyrand's profession of peculiar esteem.

A general ferment took place in America when the Report of the ambassadors was laid before the legislative bodies, and the government made every preparation for maintaining their right by war; the French party was, however, sufficiently strong to throw considerable obstacles in the way, and, notwithstanding the strong proofs to the contrary, to persuade a great part of the people that the Directory were desirous of peace.

There, perhaps, never was a stronger instance of a foreign power directing the affairs of a state against its own government and interest than this. The honour and independence of the country, as well as the stability and integrity of the government, demanded the punishment of the insults that had been offered to the Ministers; but a base and dastardly attachment to peace deprived the people of their understandings and prepared them to believe the falsehoods circulated by the emissaries of France. Still the government assumed a posture of defence: General Washington was called to take the command of the army, and a naval force was ordered for the protection of the trade. The result was well stated by the secretary, Pickering, in a report laid before Congress, wherein he observes, that, "After America had borne a long series of insults and injuries with patient endurance, the Government of France expected its final submission." "Our resistance," he adds, "has excited its surprise, and has certainly increased its resentment—With some soothing expressions is heard the voice of wounded pride —Warmly professing its desire of reconcilation it gives no proof of its sincerity; but proofs in abundance, demonstrate that it is not sincere. From standing erect, and in that commanding attitude requiring implicit obedience, cowering, it renounces some of its unfounded de-

mands. But I hope, we shall remember, 'that the tiger crouches before he leaps on his prey.'

There was evidently no want of acrimony between the two governments, but their distance prevented them from being brought into contract with each other, and the contest ended in a war of words.

THE END OF CHAP. XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Affairs in France under the Directory....Intrigues of M. Talleyrand....Conduct of the returned Emigrants....Hopes of the exiled Royalists....The Fallacy of their Expectations, from their impolitic Conduct....Their forlorn Condition....Disappointments of the Parties in the War....Motives and Manœuvres of the English Government to effect a Union between Great Britain and Ireland. ....Money Matters.

PARIS, under the Directory, became the centre of intrigues, the most unprincipled and corrupt; and the features of stern Republican justice degenerated into smiles of sycophancy and favouritism. Monsieur Talleyrand Perigord, ex-bishop of Autun, evinced a strong predilection for the re-establishment of priestly government, and soon attached to him a private synod of his ancient friends, who demonstrated a grateful willingness to pay before-hand the services he was about to do them, by a discreet exposition and use of Solomon's Proverb—"Money answereth all things." The emigrant priests and nobles, who had, in vain, sued, in the name of justice, for permission to return to their country, now found the way smoothed by the cupidity of the oily-tongued minister and his speculating masters. The sufferings which these unfortunate persons had borne, had reduced many of them to very humiliating circumstances, and though great numbers of them received small pensions from the governments where they had taken refuge, it was desirable to return home upon any terms. Numbers of them took measures for turning the vices of the government to their own account, and the proper application of money procured the erasure of their names from the lists of emigrants.

The family of the late King augured favourably for their cause by these events, but they displayed as little judgment in this as in any other instance. It was a love of self, and a very natural love of self, that induced these emigrants to flee from the long suffering they had endured, to seek for rest and tranquillity in the bosom of their country; and it was not in the nature of things that any great number of those persons would again expose themselves to more severe or even similar sufferings in a hopeless adventure: yet the princes of that family, and the courts to which they were allied, dreamed, and constantly dreamed, of counter revolutions being effected by means of these emigrants. It was argued that the crimes of the governments afforded them opportunities of adducing proofs of its wickedness to the people, and interesting them in its overthrow; but it was forgotten, that each individual emigrant had an interest in concealing those crimes, and the moment of their exposure would destroy the validity of his passport.

There was, however, another instance of mistaken policy, which was much more fatal to the Bourbons, and rendered their cause perfectly hopeless, which was, a resolution maintained both by them and their adherents, to disturb all the possessions that had been made in consequence of the revolution, and to restore all the lands to their true owners. A more impolitic determination could not have been entered into, as it united all existing interests against the restoration, and still limited their means to simple conquest, which had so repeatedly failed. Partial disturbances, however, still continued in the Western departments, and two celebrated chiefs, Frotté and Georges, contrived to keep a powerful army of Royalists together, who fought in the name of Louis XVIII. This prince had found an asylum in the dominions of Russia; his brother, the Count Artois, and some of the other princes had taken refuge in Great Britain, and some of the family resided in Germany, so that they scarcely re-

tained the semblance of a court. The Allies disregarded them in their treaties for peace, and the war, which, in its commencement, was pretended to be undertaken for their interest, had proceeded far enough to shew that the Combined Powers had used that family as a mere stalking horse, without designing to secure for them a single colony, a single ship of their navy, or any indemnification whatever. Many of the sincerest Royalists became politically attached to the Republic from this consideration, without suffering themselves to be hurried further by their self love than a prudent attention to all the circumstances warranted, and hopes were encouraged by the Bourbons and their friends, from want of resolution to abandon them, more than from any reasonable ground whereon they could rest.

All the parties who had originally commenced the war, had now seen the objects flee before them for which it had been undertaken. The Bourbons were all become subjects in foreign countries, instead of establishing an unlimited despotism in their family; the Allies, who had calculated upon the dismemberment of France, were now content to act purely upon the defensive, and deemed themselves more than happy if they could secure the integrity of their own dominions, and the French, instead of giving liberty to the states whose governments they had insulted and attacked, had increased the arbitrary power of those governments, and even exchanged the spirit of liberty, which they had themselves once possessed, for a tyranny the most unblushing and offensive. Amidst the convulsion, the Directory kept up the menace of invasion against England, and the attention of that power continued to be occupied in strengthening itself in case of attack. As a mean of consolidating its power, the English Government exerted its endeavours to unite the legislative authorities of Great Britain and Ireland in one body. The policy of this measure was, by giving equal interest to all parts of the empire to unite

all in its defence, and it would be fortunate for mankind if Government were always actuated by views equally wise and equitable.

This object was effected by the administration of Mr. Pitt, and we are the more happy in being able to acknowledge its merit, as there are so few of the acts of that administration, which we think entitled to praise. It must not, however, be supposed, that because the measure was both wise and just, the good citizens of either London or Dublin suffered it to pass without opposition. It was suggested by the *minister*, and such was the unhappy spirit that had gone abroad in those times, that great multitudes of people both in Great Britain and Ireland, acquired the title of patriots, for no other reason, than because they quarrelled with every thing that the minister did, whether it were right or wrong. The people of Ireland were told, that, if their representatives met at London instead of Dublin, they would be ruined beyond recovery. They had, it was acknowledged, suffered all the horrors of dissention and discord, but they had the satisfaction of knowing all these horrors were their own: they would, on the contrary, if the Union were to take place, have to charge their misfortunes upon a parliament sitting in another country, and, after submitting to such indelible disgrace, they might bid farewell to all ideas of independence. Independence was the catch-word, and as soon as the Foxites in England sent it abroad, it flew round Ireland, from borough to borough, like the alarming intelligence of a fall in the market price of votes; and all the independent members, and all the freemen who carried on the traffic of selling seats in Parliament, set up a universal shout, that *the liberties of Ireland were in danger.*

The Foxites of London and the buyers and sellers of Dublin; imagined that they were greatly embarrassing the ministry, by the obstacles that they threw in the way of this plan; but Pitt, who was in the secret, only laughed at them, for he knew that he could buy up all the patriotism

that annoyed him, and prove to the good citizens that they had only been acting the part of puppets in the hands of more cunning knaves than themselves. Much credit has been given to Lord Castlereagh, who was appointed principle operator in conducting this intrigue, for the adroitness with which he smoothed down the difficulties as they arose, but those praises have been very undeservedly bestowed; the noble Lord required no talent superior to what is necessary to a huckster at a fair. The great parliamentaty leaders of Ireland, found that they could bring their interest to a better market, if they threw difficulties in the way of the minister, than if they fairly acknowledged the propriety of the measure; and hence they clamoured against the innovation as injurious to their country. To manage this, the Lord of the Intrigue had nothing to do, but to make the best bargain he could; and, accordingly, (as was lately declared in the House of Commons) as soon as he had distributed a sufficient quantum of pensions and reversions amongst them, they shed their tender love of Ireland as a lobster casts its shell, and they agreed to vote for the Union, as the only measure capable of saving the Empire!

While the English Government was arming against its enemy in this way, a silent and irresistible foe was preparing to attack it, by means that were incapable of being counteracted. The pressure of the war and the demand for money had been so great in England for four or five years, that the capitalists hardly knew how to be extravagent enough in their demands for the loan of their wealth. The interest, or hire, or, as it might properly be called, the rent of money, became so high, that the nation could at one time only get £47. sterling for £100. stock, thus rendering itself liable to pay upwards of forty shillings in the pound for the principal, besides upwards of six per sent for its hire! The mischievious consequences of this career were so obvious, that, Mr. Pitt took the resolution of raising a great part of the supplies

within the year by taxes, instead of loans. As a measure of finance this was an act of prudence, but it brought a sudden pressure upon the people that reduced them to great inconvenience and distress. The sudden levy of this extraordinary demand raised the price of all commodities beyond their usual price, and excited a belief among the trading part of the people, that the prices would rise to an enormous height; this persuasion induced numbers of speculators to lay out all the property that they could muster in the purchase of corn, and promoted the very high prices, which would not have existed but for its own efforts. The speculative principle, which is innocent enough, nay highly useful, in a commercial country, was, in this instance, converted into a scourge of the most afflicting kind to the nation, by the facility with which fictitious capitals were raised and converted into corn; not for the purpose of supplying the wants of the country, but of withdrawing it from the use of the people, to store it up till it could fetch the highest possible prices. Paper currency was created to an enormous amount, by the confidence that commercial men agreed to repose in each other, and accomodation bills passed from hand to hand with all the value attached to them of sterling gold, and the storers of corn were enabled to keep their stocks from market without the least inconvenience. Provisions of all kinds, by these means, became excessively dear, and the Government found it extremely difficult to suppress the resentment of the people.

The French Government had possessed an advantage in financial affairs which gave it a decided superiority over its antagonists, for it had contrived to make the chief burden of the war fall upon other countries, as will appear by the following enumeration.

ENUMERATION

Of the CONTRIBUTIONS, CONFISCATIONS, *and* REQUISITIONS, *by the* FRENCH, *on the* COUNTRIES *conquered by them.*

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Territory of his Imperial Majesty . .	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Prussian Majesty	5,980,000	239,200
Holland	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alsace; particularly the country between the Moselle, Meuse and Rhine	145,780,000	5,831,200
Triers	6,120,000	244,800
Platinate	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia	57,758,408	2,310,337
Dutchy of Bergen	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire; second Campaign . . .	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wirtemburg	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria	16,970,000	678,800
Baden	3,345,000	131,800
Milan, or Cisapline Republic	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia; a considerable tract of territory		
Modena	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca	5,000,000	200,000
Parma	3,850,000	154,000
Naples	150,000	6,000
Genoa	4,000,000	160,000
Tuscany	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory		
Venice	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubec	3,000,000	120,000
Total	3,582,267,671	£143,288,708

THE END OF CHAP. XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

Interesting Particulars regarding Buonaparté....Anecdote of his Generosity to the Hostages of the Emperor.... His Contempt of the Orders of the Directory....His irritability of Temper during the Discussions at Leoben....An Instance of his Desire of Conquest, in sending Gentili to take Possession of the Greek Islands....Marchesi, the Singer, ordered to quit Milan, for not accepting an Invitation of Madame Buonaparté....Buonaparté procures a patriotic Italian Nobleman to be Shot....Various Incidents which occurred during the Journey of Buonaparté from Italy to Paris....Resemblance between him and Alexander....Fête prepared for him at Lausanne....Singular Observation of a Swiss Youth to Buonaparté....Conversation of Buonaparté with a Swiss Landlord. ..Anecdote of him and Count Ferzen....His Respect for military Authority....The interesting Ceremony of Buonaparté's Presentation to the Directory....His Speech to the Directors....Conclusion of the Entertainment....His Election as a Member of the National Institute....His Conduct at the Anniversary of the 21st of January....Irksomeness of his Situation whilst he remained at Paris.

IN an elaborate Historical Work, which combines many tedious and desultory details, a recapitulation of facts is frequently requisite, that the memory may not be burthened by a long continued succession of events, and that the attention may be fixed on the more important transactions that are recorded; but, it is unnecessary to adopt this mode in the present instance, because its principal circumstances are strongly characterized by their connexion with each other; and because it has been endeavoured to heighten the character and import of these circumstances, by bringing them forward, and placing them

in the most striking points of view, and thus, to present a scene in which the relative position of each object is essential to the effect of the whole. In the composition of a picture the artist first sketches the most prominent features, because they are the essential constituent parts of his design; and, if his outline be drawn with a due regard to the rules of his art, a single glance will ascertain the subject, and the intended effect will be produced. To improve the picture, he arranges his subordinate objects, so as to give the most accurate idea of the whole.

In proceeding to sketch the biography of Buonaparté, the rapid succession of important events have not afforded an opportunity of offering to the attention some facts which, notwithstanding, are necessary to be noticed; they occurred from time to time under various circumstances, and in different situations; and they are now introduced to illustrate the character and conduct of the Hero.

It is related, in proof of the liberality of Buonaparté, that, when the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, the Emperor sent three of the principal nobility of his court as hostages, and that Buonaparté, having invited them to dine with him, said to them on the dessert being brought in, "Gentlemen, you are free.—Tell your Master that if his imperial word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and, if it require none, that you ought not."

Buonaparté's impatience of controul was often manifested during the period he held his appointment of the Directory.—At the time when he commenced the negociations which were concluded by the Peace of Leoben, he had determined not to return to Paris till he might appear there with the double *eclat* of a conqueror and a pacificator. He remained at the castle of Passeriano, near Udina, and in Italy, till the treaty was signed. He had frequently been recalled by the Directory, but he always neglected to notice their orders, and began to shew a degree of *hauteur* which little corresponded with his former apparent modesty; he refused to accept any ge-

nerals into his army whom he did not approve, and sent home only so much of the contributions levied in Italy as he thought proper.

During the discussions at Leoben his irritability of temper often shewed itself. He was always treated with the greatest deference by the plenipotentiaries, but he was frequently so much chagrined by the tediousness of German forms, that he behaved to them very cavalierly: finding the first article of the proposed Preliminaries to contain an acknowledgement of the French Republic, he exclaimed with indignant warmth, "The French Republic is like the sun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its splendour." The article was immediately erased. At one time having, upon some account or other, supposed that his colleagues had not treated the Republic with sufficient respect, or listened with sufficient attention to his proposals, he took up a china jar, that stood near him, and, dashing it on the ground, exclaimed, "Since you provoke me, thus will I reduce you to powder." The Marquis de Gallo conducted himself with the greatest address and prudence, and so much did he *dread* lest the petulance of Buonaparté's temper might put an end to the negociations, that, one day, when the French General had hastily quitted the room in a pet, he ran after him, but not being able to overtake him, said, obsequiously, to one of his aides-de-camp, "Tell him, however, that I followed him to his carriage." Another day, after a very long debate, Buonaparté said with great warmth, "Well then, I will carry my answer to Vienna."

His love of conquest may be observed in the pains that he took, after he had revolutionized Italy, to take possession of the Greek Isles that had belonged to the Republic of Venice. He sent, from thence, a small fleet, with a hadful of troops on board, commanded by General Gentili; and his letter to the Directory, giving an account of the success of the expedition contains some curious particulars, and shews, at the same time, how

much he was flattered by conquering, in the name of the Great Nation, those inconsiderable islands, which are so celebrated in ancient lore. The following is an extract from his dispatch:

"The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *Papa*, or first minister of religion, a well-informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to General Gentili, and addressed him in these words —'Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations; but despise them not on that account, they may one day become again what they were before. Learn, in reading this book, to respect them.' The General opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *Papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to see that it was the Odyssey of Homer.—The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the Great Nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce."

The following anecdote has been instanced, as a memorial of Buonaparté's resentment of an affront. Its authenticity however is dubious. The celebrated singer Marchesi, who resided at Milan, near which place he had some property, was invited by Madame Buonaparté to dinner, when he was, no doubt, expected to entertain the company with his charming voice; being a great aristocrat, he refused the invitation; it was repeated, and he refused again; Buonaparté sent his commands for him to attend; he persisted in refusing, and soon after received an order to quit Milan in ten hours. After he had set out, he received another message, ordering him to retire to his country-house, about thirty miles from Milan, for six months, he remained there for that time, under a

guard of six soldiers, whom he was obliged to maintain at his own expense.

A traveller of unquestionable impartiality (Mr. Holcroft,) who has lately furnished a very interesting work on the state of society and manners at Paris, from his own observations during a residence in that metropolis, and to whom English literature is indebted for several works that will ever be highly esteemed by that part of the public whose admiration of talent and liberality of sentiment are superior to prejudice, has related a fact that cannot better be given than in his own words:

"I occasionally met", says he, "several Italians (at Paris) most of them people of rank, and some who had been high in office: they all spoke of Buonaparté with bitterness; and related tales, which, if true, would prove him to have been a treacherous tyrant at the time he began to command in Italy.

"When Buonaparté first came to Milan, professing himself the deliverer of a once great people, but now and long since miserably enchained by priestcraft and petty despotism, those who earnestly desired the emancipation and the happiness of their county received him with open arms. One of them, a Milanese nobleman of great influence, devoted his whole means and power to the cause, which he supposed the French sincerely intended to promote; and, for that purpose, in giving aid to Buonaparté, by whom he was then treated with the most flattering distinction.

"This nobleman had none but virtuous motives for his conduct; and he was, too soon, convinced that it was not for the cause of freedom which Buonaparté, and the armies of France fought: the avarice of individuals, the plunder of rich and poor, and the worst of motives, which shelfishness, egotism, and national vanity could inspire, were daily more and more apparent.

"After some reverse of fortune which the French sustained in Italy, Buonaparté, once more, came to Milan;

and the indignant patriot, instead of again promoting the views of the Conqueror, openly upbraided him with his want of good faith, his total dereliction from the cause of freedom, and the atrocities committed or countenanced by him. The affront was unpardonable. To reprove a man who had armies at his command, though it shewed a noble and virtuous fortitude, the loyal Milanese soon found was a fatal step: Buonaparté caused him to be seized, put him under a guard, and sent accusations of him to the Directory, accompanied by pretended proofs that he was a traitor to freedom and to France. The end of this tragedy was, the death of the Italian; he was shot! and the passions of his enemy were shewn to be dangerous to the present and ominous to the future.

"This account I had from a man of rank and honour, an Italian, who assured me he absolutely knew all that he had related to be true.

"The remembrance of the depredations committed by the French, or their Chief, in Italy, will not quickly die away."

Any observation upon this incident would be impertinent.

Buonaparté's journey, on quitting Italy, was marked by some interesting occurrences.

He set out with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended by two generals, two aides-de-camp, a secretary, and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French Resident, and, having been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him, on the road, and immense crowds of people were all in earnest expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he slept the night before, he had been received with great honors by the celebrated Colonel Weiss, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writings, by his zeal, and by his profound admiration of Buonaparté. Near Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the

crowd of spectators who assembled to see him, thus speaks of him:

"I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else: he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within: he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will, some day or other, influence the destinies of Europe. A burgess of Morat, a man about five feet ten inches high, observed, with astonishment, the figure of the General. 'How small a stature for so great a man!' cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aides-de-camp. 'He is exactly the height of Alexander,' said some one. 'Yes,' said the aid-de-camp, 'and that is not the only trait of resemblance.'

"At Faubroun, a little village, nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party, who had, out of curiosity and respect, accompanied his train; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulsome address from the burgomaster. In passing through Lausanne, they had prepared a great *fête* for him, which he did not seem to enjoy; three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses, which they had got by heart; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour but seemed to have more need of sleep than of compliments: he appeared, indeed, everywhere to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted."

The government of Berne had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Buonaparté seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Swisserland. "What are you looking at there?" said the General. "Some parts of my own country which I am not acquainted with," replied the Youth. "Do you know that part?" said Buonaparté, pointing to Porentrui. "That does not belong to us," replied the Youth. "We mean to give it you," returned the General. "And what do you mean to ask in exchange?" said the Boy. "Nothing," said Buonaparté, "we will make you a present of it." "Nothing!" returned the Youth, thoughtfully. "*Ah Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Buonaparté immediately turned to his father, and said "Take care of the Boy's education; he will be no common man, some day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is surrounded with thick fir trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paisible bois.*" He talked very freely with the landlord, and asked him if he paid many taxes? "No," said the man, "we hardly know what they are." "Have you no land of your own?" Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tythes and quit rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expense of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly." "Does your government levy no tax upon the land?" "None" "How then does it pay its expenses?" "With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year." "You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose?" "And so I ought to be," replied the landlord, "with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich." "If all

this be true," said Buonaparté, turning to one of his officers, " these are the happiest people in the world."

Buonaparté, after passing through Swisserland, stopped at Rastadt to open the conferences of the Congress, and then proceeded on his journey. During his short stay at that place he gave a specimen of what the other powers of Europe had to expect from him and the French Republic, by his treatment of Count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the Congress, a man well known for his attachment to the old court of France and his hatred to the Revolution. When he was introduced to him, Buonaparté received him coolly, but with civility, and then asked what minister the Court of Sweden had at Paris. To which the Count replied, with evident confusion, " None." Buonaparté then expressed his surprise that the King should send a person to meet the plenipotentiaries, who was essentially disagreeable to every French citizen. He remarked, that the King would be much offended if a French minister should be sent to Stockholm, who had endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection; and, by the same rule, the French Republic could not suffer his Majesty to send men too well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the ministers of the first nation on earth, which well knew how to preserve its dignity. The Count retired, much irritated and confused, saying, " he should report to his Majesty what he had just heard."

Buonaparté, after his arrival at Paris, shunned every opportunity of being noticed: he lived in a small house and retired street; he received very little company; he avoided all crowded places, and never went out but in a plain carriage with two horses; he dined sometimes with the different ministers of state, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting; in doing this, he complied with his natural disposition. He appeared to contemn popular applause, and he avoided giving any offence to the Directory, who, before he left Italy, had appointed him to the command of the army of England.

The policy of Buonaparté appears to have been, to gain popularity by seeming to avoid it, by the shew of great moderation, and by a public expression of his aversion to Jacobin principles: he dreaded their power as a party, though, as individuals, they were suited to his purpose. In every instance where he has had any opportunity, Buonaparté has endeavoured to suppress discussion and freedom of sentiment. The new constitutions of Italy were framed almost entirely by himself, with as little of the popular leaven as possible; all the first legislators and public officers were of his own appointment, and before he left Milan he ordered all the popular societies to be closed. He constantly addressed the military as the guardians and preservers of the different constitutions he had established. The treaty of peace was entirely his own framing, and he is said to have advised the Directory to diminish the force of the coalition by making separate treaties with the Allied Powers; he advised also, that moderate conditions should be granted to the Emperor in order to induce the other powers to treat, when they saw that, even when vanquished, he was not oppressed.

The ceremony of his presentation to the Directory, when he arrived from Italy, was attended with every degree of splendor and parade. They were about to receive a general, who, by his prowess and talents, had vanquished the most formidable armies ever sent into the field against France; and who had preserved the independence and extended the power of the country against a confederacy formed for the utter destruction of its glory.

The great court of the Luxembourg was the place chosen for this superb spectacle; it was covered with an immense awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar surmounted with statutes of Liberty, Equality, and Peace, and ornamented with the different

standards which had been taken from the enemy; on each side of the altar were seats in a semicircular form, composing a vast amphitheatre, and destined for the constituted authorities and the conservatory of music; from the walls were suspended the colours of the different armies of the Republic; an immense crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring streets were filled with those who could not gain admittance within; the air perpetually resounded with their acclamations and shouts of joy.

At twelve o'clock at noon the sound of cannon announced the commencement of the *fête*, and the procession, which consisted of the Directory, the ministers of state, and constituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived, and were all seated, the President of the Directory gave orders to inform the foreign ministers, the Minister of War, and the generals Buonaparté, Joubert, and Andreossi, that the Directory were ready to receive them. The conservatory of music began a beautiful symphony, which was soon interrupted by the sound of repeated shouts, rendering the air with "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!"—"Long live the Great Nation!" The noise continued to increase, the crowd kept pressing forward, every eye sparkled with expectation and curiosity, and turned towards the great door: *Buonaparté entered!* the enthusiasm of the people increased, not a single person was silent, but all cried out, with one impulse and with one accord, "The Deliverer of Italy"—"The Pacificator of the Continent."

Buonaparté now advanced with calmness and dignity. It was the most sublime moment that a mortal could experience; the greatest trial to the feelings of a man; yet he shewed the same coolness he had done in the midst of battle. He was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Relations, the Minister at War, and his aides-de-camp: the music played the Hymn to Liberty, and every one stood

up uncovered. When he had arrived at the steps of the altar he was presented to the Directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion: after it was finished, all seemed eager to hear the Conqueror of Italy, the simplicity and modesty of whose appearance formed a fine contrast to the grandeur of his situation, and every one present figured him at the Bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. A profound silence immediately took place while Buonaparté presented to the President of the Directory the Emperor's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows:—

"Citizen Directors—The French People, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The Constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but, the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of representative governments. You have organized the Great Nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the limits which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the Genius of Liberty rise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Imperial Majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity, and glory to the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well-formed organic laws, all Europe will become free."

The Hero had scarcely finished, when shouts of acclamation on all sides seemed to reach the clouds. "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!" were the general cry. The President answered him in a very long speech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace,

in which he was followed by the other members of the Directory, and witnessed with great emotion by all present. Buonaparté descended from the altar, and the Minister of Foreign Relations conducted him to an arm-chair which was prepared for him, before the diplomatic body. The conservatory of music then performed the Chant du Retour, the words by Chenier, and the music by Mehul. The other generals were then presented, in turn, and received, and returned addresses suitable to the occasion; after which they took their different seats, prepared for them in front of Buonaparté, and the music played the Chant du Depart. The Directors then dissolved the sitting and returned to their palace with the rest of the procession. The spectators saluted Buonaparté with the same acclamations at his departure as at his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg to the General, and an immense number of civil and military officers; the evening concluded with a ball at the house of the Minister of the Interior, and thus ended this august ceremony.

Buonaparté at all times affected the character of a man of science and a lover of letters; there can be no stronger proof of it than his placing the title, Member of the National Institute, before that of General. At a literary dinner, given by François de Neufchateau, he pretended to converse with every scientific man in his own line; with Lagrange and La Place he talked of Mathematics; with Sieyes of Metaphysics; of Poetry with Chenier; of Politics with Gallois, and with Daunou of Legislation and Public Law. He affected in Italy to be the patron of letters, but it does not appear that they flourished much under his protection. The day after his nomination to be a member of the Institute in the class of mechanics, he addressed a letter to Camus, the president, in which are the same appearance of modesty, and the same respect for literature which he had formerly shewn.

" CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

" THE good opinion of the distinguished men who compose the National Institute does me the highest honour. I perceive, that before I become their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew one method more expressive than another of testifying my esteem for them, I should employ it. The only true conquests, and those which leave no regret, are those which we gain over ignorance. The most honourable and the most useful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French Republic ought, henceforth, to consist in appropriating to itself every great discovery.

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

The *fêtes* and dinner which were given to Buonapartè were, many of them, shared by his wife, particularly the balls; he constantly attended her to the latter, and shewed her every external mark of respect. The simplicity of his dress and manner seemed pointedly to indicate his real grandeur and superiority; for, where every one else was superbly dressed, in order to do him honour, he himself always appeared in a plain coat and without powder.

The ceremony of his installation at the National Institute was intended to be kept entirely private; yet, as the day was publicly known, the room was crowded as soon as it was opened; for wherever he could be seen he was never without a crowd. At five o'clock the members all took their places, Buonaparté, among the rest, in a plain grey frock, the dress he generally appeared in; there was nothing particular, therefore, to point out the man who had so lately conquered so many armies, overturned so many states, and created so many new ones. Neither his stature, his manners, nor his dress, distinguished him from the crowd; and yet, from the great *eclat* of his name, he attracted the notice of every one present: the moment he was discovered, the room rung with applauses, which were repeated whenever any allusion to him occurred in any of the speeches, or anything which could be applied to the Hero of France. It is worthy of remark, that Buo-

naparté was elected in the room of his friend Carnot, who had been lately banished.

In 1797, he appeared at the anniversary of the 21st of January, and there he seemed ashamed of his company; he was seated among the members of the National Institute as a private individual, and took so much pains to conceal himself, by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he was not perceived till the ceremony was nearly concluded. He was then cheered with loud and repeated applauses.

The marks of public favour, which Buonaparté always received from the Parisians, must have been, in some degree, pleasing to his mind, and have inspired him with an additional confidence in any plans that he might have formed against the Government. But, if he had indulged such views then, there is ground to think that he was not at ease, for his schemes were not sufficiently matured to be acted upon; and Carnot has declared, that the Directory dreaded and wished to destroy him;—of this Buonaparté was aware, and he secretly despised them as men and envied them as rulers. Paris was not, therefore, a place in which he could long remain in safety, if even his energetic mind could have concealed its disgust; besides, his policy required that he should appear at Paris in the character only of a private citizen. To conform to the level of the Merlins, the Frerons, and of the literary horde, and to feel himself no more than an equal of journalists, and pamphleteers, and lecturers—the sycophants of the Directory, the panders of the people, and the quacks of science—to reduce himself to such an equality, and, worst of all, to be in their power, was degrading and humiliating in the extreme, to him, who had over-ran Italy, at the head of the troops of the Republic, who, when with the army, was without a superior and without a rival.

THE END OF CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

Farther Particulars regarding Buonaparte....M. Sérizy's satirical Remarks on the Expedition to Egypt.... Anecdote of Buonaparté by Carnot....On the common Fame of public Characters....Anecdote of Buonaparté from Peltier....Sir Robert Wilson's Statement of the Murder of the Turkish Prisoners at Jaffa and the poisoning of the Sick.... Dr. Wittman's Remarks on the same Circumstances....Sir Robert Wilson's Justification of his Narrative, in Reply to the Complaint of the French Ambassador....English Writers defend Buonaparté....Remarks.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diffidence with which Buonaparté seemed to receive the honours that were lavished upon him at different times; and, although the literati had adopted him, and conferred upon him the distinctions which they had at their command, several men of letters ridiculed those *Savans* who accompanied him to Egypt. Amongst others, Richer Sérizy declaims, in the *Accusateur Publique*, in the following terms:

" What can we think of those pretended learned men, knowing hardly the alphabet of common sense; of those lamps of the Institute! who, thinking they were called upon to complete those high and mysterious destinies, forgetting the unhappy fate of Pharaoh's conjurors, set off, with empty purses, in company of the modern Jason, to search, first, for the golden fleece; then, to dazzle Asia with their talents; next, to build a fourth pyramid, in addition to the three extant, that their great deeds might be transmitted to posterity; and, lastly, to rebuild, most assuredly, in fifteen days, the twenty-two thousand cities of old Egypt; to reinstate the lake Meris, and again to set up the bull Apis!"

And, again, he says:

" If I wish to find out the utility of such an extravagant undertaking, I only see the chimerical project of spreading the revolution all over Asia. Who can be ignorant, that the climate, the fanaticism, the customs and manners, render the Eastern nations quite averse to our manners and customs; that it would require an infinite time, immense sums of money, the philosopher's stone, to give life again and to reunite the dust of the wonderful Memphis, scattered and dispersed so many centuries ago? What advantage can we reap from having Cairo and being deprived of forty thousand men in our armies? But, they say, that, in time, it will prove an excellent colony to us: Would it not, then, have been much better to have taken care of ours, so valuable, so fruitful, so populous, rather than to invade a country, which we cannot keep long, and instead of abandoning real comforts of life for illusive hopes? Who does not see, that the British Government has so well calculated upon the extravagance of such an enterprise, that it seems to have been their wish that our army should land, unmolested, on those distant and barren shores? Indeed, one would be apt to believe it, when it is well known, that Admiral Nelson was before Alexandria three days before the arrival of Buonaparté! and, in fact, Why has he not waited for him? how has he missed him at sea? The landing of our army in Egypt, did it not offer to the enemy the considerable advantage of removing the dangers which threatened England, of lessening our strength upon the continent, and of engaging, at last, the Ottoman Porte (the dupe of her good faith, and too faithful to her engagements) to side with the Coalition against the destroyers of men?

" And what shall we think of the new-fashioned General, who, in order to succeed in his undertaking, acts the part of Alexander, takes folly for heroism, puts,

gravely, a conjuror's book in his pocket, provides himself with orvietan, with phosphorus, with inflammable air, with stuffed serpents, taken from the cabinet of natural history, in order to put them under Pompey's pillar, imitating thereby the Serpent of Appollonius and Epidaurus; makes the Egyptians believe that he is a god, and persuades the Parisians that the terrible and memorable battle of Chebreisse is the battle of Abelles?"

Carnot in his Pamphlet, published nearly a month before Buonaparté's departure for Egypt, complains of his *ingratitude* towards himself, to whom he owed much obligation for his elevation to the command of the army of Italy:

"I was so persuaded," says he, "that it was impossible that Buonaparté had contributed to my proscription, that, when he passed, on his way to Rastadt, through a small town, where I was for a short time, I was on the point of sending him a note, in order to ask of him a momentary interview; and, if I did not do it, it was, because I feared that I might put him to some trouble; for I had never entertained the smallest doubt about his generosity. I then let him pass, and illuminated my windows, as did all the inhabitants, reflecting, in the gayest humour, on the whimsical destinies of mankind. A few days afterwards I felt extremely happy in having acted as I did; when I heard, that, at Geneva, Buonaparté had put under confinement a banker, called Bontems, only because he was suspected to have taken me from Paris to Geneva, after the 18th Fructidor, in order to rescue me from the pursuits of the Directory, who sent out whole battalions and artillery to find me, in the neighbourhood of Paris. The suspicion was unfounded; I had never seen Bontems in Paris, and it was not to him that I owed the obligation to have taken me out of the frontiers: the unhappy man remained, however, several months in prison! Such is the account I heard from many persons,

who had seen him at Geneva, and who had heard him mention the fact; adding, that Buonaparté was excessively angry, and made him the most violent threats."

Carnot, elsewhere, expresses himself very indignantly at the behaviour of Buonaparté toward him.

He that is remarkable for having achieved any great actions will have many friends, from admiration, who will panegyrize him for virtues that he never possessed; and many enemies, from envy, who will sully his reputation by enumerating crimes that he never committed. The one will extol him as the *most* perfect, the other will execrate him as the *most* depraved character: the attributes which each will ascribe to him are superlative, and they will not be satisfied with any opinion that may be formed of him that does not either represent him as a demigod or a demon.—" All or nothing!" is their cry—not as he is, but as they wish him to be, is their picture; so, that, if the good qualifications of the individual be merely moderate, they will be magnified to perfection by his friends; and his vices and his follies, however venial, will be so exaggerated by his enemies, that, if he had the most sincere disposition to repair his faults, " detraction will not let him" even acknowledge them, for fear of the evil appearance that malice would give to his first step towards reform. Unfortunately, these partialities are so well adapted to their object—the concealment of truth—that an honest inquirer is often deceived, and, as often as he discovers the error, is disgusted; whilst an acute inquirer has not always the means of detecting the fabrication, and is himself deluded into a belief of it. The motive, however, once ascertained, the mystery is unravelled.

These observations will apply particularly to Buonaparté: his publicity has occasioned curiosity; and, as the curious are always credulous, every tale that has been related of him has met at least with some believers. Nor have tales been wanting to gratify the fondness of his

friends and the hatred of his enemies: stories have been so ingeniously manufactured that the discovery of some of them has destroyed the credibility even of facts, and induced a rejection of those ordinary circumstances of evidence with which the mind would have, otherwise, been contented. Fact and fiction, being, therefore, of so near a semblance, the opinions of honest and impartial men have been, in general, suspended upon those statements which are now submitted to the consideration of unprejudiced minds.

An act of very barbarous cruelty is attributed to Buonaparté, in a letter, to be found in M. Peltier's "Paris," vol. xi. p. 771. The Writer proceeds as follows:

"I say, and it is what twenty thousand men know, without daring to say it; I say, that, in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed than those which are daily committed under the direction and authority of Buonaparté! Will it be credited, that, in the hospitals appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparté have a constant order, as soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed, which fatal mark announces to the attendants, that this victim is to be carried away with the dead; he is, accordingly, thrown into a waggon, appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and he is generally strangled or smothered: but, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men, who are on the point of being buried alive, may be distinctly heard! To this horrible fact I have myself been a witness, as well as to what I am going to relate:

"In the month of July, 1797, after an action, which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparté gave orders, that not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried! The wretched victims were

placed upon five waggons, and, at midnight, were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated in it. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which falling upon the undressed wounds of the poor victims, made them send forth such piercing cries, that the virtuous curate of Salo, seized with horror at the transaction, died, in consequence of the fright!

"To these atrocities I have been an eye-witness, and I denounce them to all men and to all ages. If the Directory wish to be satisfied of the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power. I do not sign my name to this letter, as I do not wish to be assassinated before the examination of the crimes I have denounced can take place. I call upon the Directory to verify the facts, and, when this is done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness: in the meantime I shall discover myself to REWBELL."

Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, in a Work published during the peace, relating to the operations of the French in Egypt, relates some circumstances of atrocity, which are introduced by the following remarks, in the preface of his book.

"To those who may imagine that my representations of General Buonaparté's conduct, in the several instances referred to, are imprudent and improper, at this moment, to be brought forward, I must premise; that, if they are concerned only for the character of that General, I am happy to afford them an occasion to be better acquainted with this celebrated man, who, by his great fortune and uninterrupted career of victory, (with one exception, of Acre) that glorious monument of British conduct!) has dazzled the understandings of the mass of mankind, and prevented the results of those inquiries having proper influence which those with whom the opinions of the day do not pass current, have instituted on his pretensions to the admiration of posterity.

" To those, whose motives of disapprobation proceed from a regard for tranquillity, exciting the wish that a general amnesty of oblivion might be extended to the past; first, I will say, that the dissemination of this principle would tend to produce more wickedness in the world than has ever been yet committed; for what is there to intimidate ambition, in full possession of power, but the pen of the historian? What can guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious despotism, but an assurance, that the memory of great crimes is perpetuated in the records of history?

" If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character: if he cannot refute them, then must he sink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of such offences, and the miserable prescience, that execration shall attach to his memory, instead of the fame he coveted; that, on his cenotaph posterity will inscribe:

" *Ille venena Colchica et quidquid*
Unquam concipitur nefas tractavit,"

" General Hutchinson," says Sir R. Wilson, " was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression, to authenticate them, may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and, had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced, by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces nor promises can, altogether, stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

" Buonaparté having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and, let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian Army! this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy, of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

" Three days afterwards, Buonaparté who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners,* ordered them to be marched to a rising ground, near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparté, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his

* " Buonaparté had, in person, previously inspected the whol body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janizary attracted his observation; and he asked him, sharply, " Old Man! what did you here?" The Janizary, undaunted replied, " I must answer that question by asking you the same: your answer will be, That you came to serve your sultan; so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interests in his favour. Buonaparté even smiled! " He is saved!" whispered some of the aids-de-camp. " You know not Buonaparté," observed one, who had served with him in Italy. " that smile (I speak from experience) does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence: remember what I say." The opinion was too true. The Janizary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered!

joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the etat-major, who commanded, (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparté was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

" When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and, probably, many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

" These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able Work on the Plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

" The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

" Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof or leading circumstance, stronger than assertion, being produced to support it: but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was

Bon's division which fired; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying himself respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

" The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or, if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

" Buonaparté, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion; concluding, at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick, at present in the hospital, was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding that Buonaparté persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, General! if such qualities as you insinuate, are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

" Buonaparté was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who, (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally con-

fessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium, at night, was distributed, in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and, in a few hours, 580 soldiers, who suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably, by the order of its idol.

" Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of Government: and . . . . .

" If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparté from Syria; they will relate, that the same virtuous Physican, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparté of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacré of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparté with strangling, previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparté attempted to justify himself; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion.

" Buonaparté pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident, if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were 500 of the garrison of El Arisch, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled, in passing through Jaffa, by the commandant, to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from

falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparté was, at last, obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the Physician president of the Institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.

"Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institute; no, Buonaparté's policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which, in due season, will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate enquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

"Let us hope also, that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French Revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France during her contest for *Liberty* or *Slavery*."

In addition to the statement of Sir R. Wilson, Dr. Wittman, who was phycisian to the British military mission, which accompanied the army of the Grand Vizier, in a work printed subsequent to Sir R. Wilson's, says, that, "Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants *who had surrendered, and who had in vain implored the mercy of their conquerors*, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arisch, (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred,) dragged out, in cold blood, four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa, to the Sand Hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, *and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen* the skeletons of those unfortunate victims,

which lie scattered over the hills—a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized. Indeed I am sorry to add, that the charge of *cruelty* against the French General Buonaparté, does not rest here. It having been reported, that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their commander in chief, Buonaparté, *had ordered all the sick at Jaffa* to be poisoned. I was led to make the inquiry, to which every one who had visited the spot would naturally be directed, respecting an act of such singular, and it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, *not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened*, but, that while in Egypt, *an individual was pointed out to us as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands.*"

General Andreossi, the Ambassador of Buonaparté at the court of Great Britain, complained to Lord Hawkesbury of these statements. Sir Robert Wilson being informed of General Andreossi's complaint, wrote the following letters to the editors of the public papers—

"In the official correspondence lately published, there appear some remarks which the French Ambassador was instructed to make on my History of the British Expedition to Egypt, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in personal controversy with General Andreossi, for, conscious of the superior virtue of my cause, I feel myself neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has used, but that the public may not attribute my silence to a desire of evading further discussion, and thus the shallow mode of contraction adopted by the *Chief Consul* acquire an unmerited consideration.

"The Ambassador observes, 'That a colonel in the English army has published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies, against the French army and its General.—The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which *Colonel Sebastiani* experienced. The publicity of his Report was at

once a refutation and reparation which the French army had a right to expect.'

" But surely a new signification must have been attached in France to the word *calumny*, when such a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the French troops in Egypt, and the consequent disposition of the inhabitants towards them!

" Independent, however, of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my statement, Europe may justly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written, when she recollects the unparalleled sufferings endured by the unoffending countries into which, during the last war, a French army penetrated! and she will, at least, hesitate to believe, that, the *same* armies should voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote, where the atrocities they might commit, would be less liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change should be in favour of a people whose principles and resistance might have excited the resentment of more generous invaders!

" I will not enter into any unnecessary detail of the numerous facts, which I could urge; but I appeal to the honour of every British officer employed in Egypt, whether those observations are not sacredly true, which describe the French as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who represent them as having merited that hatred from the *ruin and devastation with which their progress through it has been marked?* and I am ready, if there be one who refuses to sanction this relation, to resign for ever every pretension to honourable reputation, and submit, without a further struggle, to that odium which would attach to calumny and a wilful perversion of truth.

" But I feel confident, there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on the subject; and perhaps Europe has a right to condemn me, for not having made the accusations still stronger, when I can

produce frequent general orders of the French army, for the destruction of villages, and their inhabitants; when I can prove, that, above forty thousand of the natives perished by the swords of the French soldiery; and that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and disgrace civilized nations! When writing a history of the campaign, was it possible not to express indignation against the authors of such calamities? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which reflection on the different conduct of the British soldiery must inspire in the heart of every Briton? I have asserted that a British soldier could traverse alone through any part of Egypt, or even penetrate into the desart, secure from injury or insult. I have described the natives, as considering the British their benefactors and protectors, soliciting opportunities to manifest their gratitude, and esteeming the uniform as sacred as the turban of Mahometanism; and I may venture to predict, that hereafter, the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his security to the assumption of a British character!

" But does the effect of Colonel Sebastiani's Report justify the Chief Consul's conclusion, 'that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced,' even if we attach to that Report implicit belief in its candour and veracity! Is it possible that the Chief Consul can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to Colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the Vizier*? or, would he imagine,

" * Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback; in passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and, above all, before a Frenchman! and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult, and, upon my return, I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt

that the apologue of Dgezzar Pacha was not intelligible, even previous to the instructions being published, which M. Talleyrand transmitted to the French commercial agents?

"That illustrious Senator, to whose virtues and stupendous talents England owes so much of her prosperity, has declared, that this Report of Colonel Sebastiani in no case contradicts my statement; and I should consider that high opinion as amply sufficient to remove any impression which the French Ambassador's Note might, otherwise, have made, did I not think it a duty to press some observations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accusation against General Buonaparté, that the public may know I was fully aware of the important responsibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wish the world seriously to examine, whether the accuser or accused has shrunk from the investigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of inquiry.

"I avowed that I was his public accuser: I stood prepared to support the charges. The courts of my country

redress. I declared to him, 'That I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity!' He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted, by declaring formally to the Pacha, "That, if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaints.' This declaration produced all the effect which I expected, and Mustapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he, publicly, asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, 'That my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if, in future, he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable.' This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect."

Sebastiani's Report.

were open to that mode of trial, which, as an honest man, he could alone have required, but of which he did not dare to avail himself. It was no anonymous libeller against whom he was to have filed his answer, but against one (and without any indecent vanity I may say it) whose rank and character would have justified his most serious attention.

"The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect, and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it possible that the First Consul can imagine the fame of General Buonaparté is less sullied, because a few snuff-boxes, bearing his portrait, were received by some timid or avaricious individuals with expressions of esteem: or, can he hope, that the contemptible, but not less unworthy, insinuation, directed against the gallant and estimable British General, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he stands arraigned?

"Those crimes were so enormous, as, from their magnitude, to stagger belief; and, notwithstanding the irrefragable evidence of their commission, the mind still disposed itself rather to receive the impression of astonishment than conviction; but, at length, this sentiment is overpowered by the weight of guilt; and the name of Jaffa, echoed by the Turks to inspire feelings of indignation and revenge, is no longer heard in Europe without emotions of horror. Sebastiani himself recoiled at the recollection, and fled from this place of terror, preferring to increase the presumptive proofs against his Master rather than to visit a spot so polluted by his infamy, or hazard the effects of that resentment which a justifiable vengeance might have inflicted on the favourite.

"Fortunately for Europe, she has become more intimately acquainted with the principles of this hitherto misconceived man; and I confess that it gives me considerable gratification to indulge the thought, that I have contributed to their development.

" Success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him; abject senates may decree him a throne or the pantheon; but history shall render injured humanity justice."

But if the reputation of Buonaparté was forcibly assailed by an English officer, there were English writers who eagerly defended him. It may be proper to select the sentiments of one of them, as a specimen of the manner in which the Defence was conducted. The Annual Review, for 1803, edited by ARTHUR AIKIN, observes thus:

" In the late war, and in the present, the British ministry has been loudly accused of participating in and encouraging those plans of assassination which have been directed against the person of the Chief Magistrate (Buonaparté at that time was First Consul) of France. Let the ministry, if they can with truth, vindicate themselves from so black a charge, by a solemn and authentic disavowal; and let the British Public show the high honour and intrepid courage for which they have long been renowned, by consigning to merited contempt and abhorrence all works, together with their authors, whose direct tendency is to degrade the generous and high-spirited Patriot into the lurking assassin."

Respecting the Turks, who were thus slain, it should be candidly stated, that Buonaparté had, formerly, given them their liberty, *on condition* that they would not again serve against the French; whilst, on the other hand, it should be recollected, that, if they had not obeyed the commands of the Pacha, by violating the terms of the capitulation, they would have been slaughtered for disobedience of orders by their own countrymen. It would, however, have been honourable to Buonaparté if he had considered this circumstance before he ordered such an immense number of men to be indiscriminately put to death.—Such actions as this stain the character of the soldier, and render the hero a destroyer. Purity of prin-

ciple is obscured by the inflexible and unmitigated execution of sanguinary purposes, even though intended for example.—The laws of Draco were not the more just because their penalties were bloody.

The assertion, that Buonaparté ordered poison to be administered in the hospitals to his own sick soldiers, seems destitute of that proof which is essential to its authenticity. Dr. Desgenette, the Physician General to the army, the person alluded to as having received these orders, and *refused* to execute them, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, p. 49, 50, expressly declares, "That the General in Chief showed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person whilst confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief."

THE END OF CHAP. XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Disorganized State of France on the Arrival of Buonaparté from Egypt....Joy of the Parisians on his Return.... Intrigues of the Directors Sieyes and Ducos against the other Directors....Conferences between Sieyes and Buonaparté....Secret Meetings of Buonaparté and his Adherents for projecting a new Revolution....Grand Entertainment given by the Directory to Buonaparté and the other Generals....*EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE *!....Especial Meeting of the Council of Ancients....They Decree that the Legislature should adjourn to St. Cloud, and that Buonaparté should command the armed Force of Paris....Buonaparté's Speech to the Council....His Proclamation to the National Guard on the Decree passing....His Proclamation addressed to the French Soldiery....His General Orders, appointing the various Generals to new Commands.... Remarks on the issuing of the Proclamation....The Proclamation of Fouché, the Minister of Police....Of Canteleu, President of the central Administration....Buonaparté puts an Army of Ten Thousand Men in Motion and surrounds the Thuilleries....Sieyes and Ducos leave the Luxembourg and join the Revolutionists at the Thuilleries....The Director Barras refuses to resign....The Surprise and Conduct of the Directors Gohier and Moulins on being informed of the Revolution....Barras sends in his Resignation....Buonaparté's Message to him and Speech on that Occasion....Meeting of the Council of Five Hundred.*

INSURRECTION blazed in the Southern and Western departments of France, clubs of the Jacobins were formed in the Capital, and General Jourdan had proposed a decree, in the Council of Five Hundred, once more declaring "the country in danger;" when Buonaparté, unexpectedly, arrived at Paris.

The news flew round the city with the rapidity of lightning: the Parisians eagerly thronged to behold the "Conqueror of Egypt:" they surrounded him, and each seemed more desirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than they were before he quitted France: he spoke freely to the people, and shook several soldiers by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion, bronzed by the Egyptian suns, and his hair, cut short and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than were observable in him previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a grey riding-coat, with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes the Director had long foreseen the consequences which were likely to result from the imbecility of the Government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw, that, if means were not adopted to render the Executive Power sufficiently strong to be feared, that it would not be respected. He despised each of his colleagues, and only one of them had his confidence: this was Roger Ducos, who looked up to Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himself to him, because he had just foresight to perceive, that, if the Directory fell, Sieyes alone was capable of saving himself from the contempt of the people: to Sieyes, then, Ducos had allied his own fortune, and he was completely the disciple of his brother Director.

Sieyes disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the Republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory: he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their Favourite, which alarmed the other Directors; he welcomed to him his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclos-

ed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution. The wife of the Ex-priest, and the arts of the Ex-chief of the Army of Egypt, combined a plan, in which both engaged, from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests or intention of the other: each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another; and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and to take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of in his own way.

Various secret conferences were now held, at which the Directors Sieyes, the Director Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Buonaparté, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy, but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They created various rumours; and, among others, a rumour, that a new plan of government was forming for the Republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would be: the public mind was, however, prepared for a change, come whenever it might; and all that seemed necessary to make it to the taste of the Parisians was the destruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of Ancients and of the Council of Five Hundred were also in the secret.

Buonaparté appeared very little in public; he seemed to court seclusion from the gaze of the curiosity of the idle, and he declined the visit of those who had no real business to transact with him: everybody talked of him, but of those who talked very few knew anything about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest was to be silent, that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother

Directors in security: they prevailed on them to invite General Buonaparté and General Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly, given, by the Directory and the Councils, to those generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory (the church of St. Sulpice.) The company consisted of near eight hundred persons, including most of the great public functionaries of the Republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislikes by making them social and acquainted with each other. The toast given by the President of the Directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparté, "A union of all parties:" nevertheless, it was evident, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence: and, though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed only to put them further asunder. Buonaparté quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

The company separated, each in mutual distrust of the intentions of the other, and without having felt any desire of subduing their individual animosities, or of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The least inclined of any of the festive band to forego his designs was Buonaparté; for the very evening of the day on which he gave "A union of all parties" as a toast, he met his own party in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, President of the Council of Ancients, to finally determine on those measures which it had been agreed should be adopted, and to assign to each individual the part that he was destined to act, in the conspiracy against the Directory.

The Committee of Inspectors belonging to the Council of Ancients, at five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (the 9th of November 1799,) sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had

been selected for that purpose by Buonaparté and his adherents, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy—they were required to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, it appeared that the most violent of the Jacobins, in number about an hundred, were not assembled—they had not been summoned, and were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, Reporter of the Committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he forcibly stated the dangers of the Republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the Assembly, according to the 102nd and 103rd articles of the Constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that the General Buonaparté, should be charged to put the Decree in execution; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the Assemblies, and the National Guard. This Decree was passed by a great majority.

"This measure (said the Proclamation, that was immediately issued) has been adopted by the Council of Ancients in order to repress the factions which pretended to enslave the national representation, and in order to restore the internal peace.

"This measure is to open a way for the external peace, which your long sacrifices and humanity demand. This constitutional measure has no other aim but the safety and the prosperity of us all. Such an object shall be accomplished.

"And you, inhabitants of Paris, be easy; in a short time the Legislature will return to your city.

"Frenchmen! the subsequent events will soon prove whether the Legislature may be entrusted with the honourable task of preparing your happiness.

"Long live the People! by and with whom the Commonwealth exists."

Buonaparté immediately appeared at the bar, attended

by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the President, of his appointment, he spake as follows:

" CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES!

" THE Republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who whish for anarchy, whoever they be! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in that, resembles the present moment.

" Your wisdom has issued this Decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a Republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. We will have it—I swear it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades."

Lively applauses proceeded from the tribunes, the President called them to order, the Council became tranquil. —The President said:

GENERAL!

" THE Council of Ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity, and of your zeal to act. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity."

Garat requested to be heard; but the President observed, that after the Decree which the Council had passed, there could be no discussion, either in Paris or elsewhere, before the next day at noon; and the sitting was dissolved, amid loud cries of " Long live the Republic!" " Long live the Constitution of the Third Year!"

Buonaparté immediately issued a Proclamation to the National Guard.

PROCLAMATION.

BUONAPARTE, Commander in Chief, to the Citizens composing the National Guard of Paris; the 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"CITIZENS!

"THE Council of Ancients, depository of the national wisdom, has just enacted the Decree undermentioned, agreeable to the 102nd and 103rd articles of the Constitution.

"I am intrusted with the choice of measures relative to the safety of the national representation. Its removal from Paris is necessary, and only temporary. The Legislature will thereby be able to rescue the representation from the imminent danger into which the general disorder in the administration is on the eve of plunging us all.

"In this important crisis the union and confidence of the patriots are highly necessary. Stand, then, by the Legislature; it is the only way to establish the Republic on the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace.

"Long live the Republic!

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

He also isued to the troops of the line the following

PROCLAMATION.

BUONAPARTE, Commander in Chief, to the Soldiers. Head Quarters at Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"SOLDIERS!

"THE extraordinary Decree of the Council of Elders is authorized by the 102nd and 103rd articles of the Constitution. I am entrusted with the command of the city and of the army:

"I have accepted it, in order to support the measures of the Legislature, all of which are in favour of the people,

"*The Republic, for the two last years, has been ill governed. You have hoped that my return would put an end to so many evils;* you have rejoiced at it with a cordiality which lays on me the duties I fulfil: you will fulfil yours, and support your General with that energy, that steadiness, and that confidence, which I have always seen in you.

"Liberty, victory, and peace, will again restore the French Republic to the rank which she held in Europe, and which she could only lose through ignorance or treachery.—Long live the Republic!

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

Beside these Proclamations, Buonaparté gave the following:

GENERAL ORDERS.

"Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible."

"According to the decree of the Council of Elders, dated this day, which confers on General Buonaparté the command of the 17th military division of the guards of the Legislature, of those of the Executive Directory, of the troops of the line actually in Paris, in the constitutional circle, (twelve leagues around Paris) and in the whole extent of the 17th division—

"General Buonaparté appoints the General of Division, Lefebvre, to be his first lieutenant, and the General of Brigade, Andreossi, Chief of the General Staff, having under his orders the General-Adjutants Caffarelli and Doucet.

"The General of Division, Murat, commands all the cavalry.

"The General of Division, Lannes, commands in the National Palace of Elders: the Chief of his Staff will be the Chief of Brigade, Milhaud.

"The General of Brigade, Marmont, commands the artillery.

"The General of Division, Berruyer, holds still the command of the invalids.

"The General of Brigade, Morand, holds still the command of Paris.

(Signed) "Buonaparte.
"The General of Division, "Alex. Berthier."

These Proclamations and Orders, issued on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, had been prepared some time before the circumstances occurred which gave rise to the necessity of their being promulgated.—They had lain in the bureaus of the new revolutionists until the day when they were either to be useful or useless; when, if the proposed revolution was effected, they were to be circulated amongst the troops, and to be read by all the Parisians; and, when, if it had not succeeded, they would have been committed to the flames. The Proclamations were for the events, and the events for the Proclamations; and hardly had the events happened before the walls of Paris were placarded with the Proclamations, and the good ci-

tizens were indulging their curiosity on the tendency of the measures which had been so unexpectedly adopted.

The minister of General Police, Fouche, also issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

General Police.—The 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible. The Minister of the General Police of the Republic to his fellow-citizens.

"Citizens!

"The Republic was threatened with an imminent destruction.

"The Legislature has just supported liberty on the very brink of ruin, to render it immortal.

"The events have been prepared for our happiness, and for that of posterity.

"Let all the Republicans be easy, since their wishes are to be accomplished; let them be deaf to the perfidious insinuations of those who only look after troubles in the political events, and after the perpetuity of commotions and vengeance in the troubles.

"Let the weak persons cheer up again; they are supported by power. Let every one mind his own business and domestic concerns, in perfect security.

"Let them only be afraid and cautious who are spreading alarms, misleading the people, and preparing the disorders. All the repressive measures are taken and in readiness; the instigators of troubles, the abettors of royalty, all those who would dare to make an attempt against public or private safety, shall be seized and punished.

(Signed) "The Minister of Police,

"Fouche."

The Central Administration of Paris likewise issued a Proclamation; which, after recounting the disorders of the country, and that peace alone would put an end to to them, concludes thus:

"General Buonaparté, on whom every soldier and every citizen may justly rely, is intrusted with the care of your safety and with that of the Legislature in this awful crisis; and you will see him with pleasure acquire a new glory, by contributing among you to the welfare of the people."

This Proclamation was signed by the celebrated Banker

Lecouteulx-Canteleu, President, and by Réal the Commissary.

On the instant that the Decree of the Council of Ancients had passed, Buonaparté marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to the place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and he harangued his troops in the great court, while three of the Directors, and all the rest of Paris, were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the publication of his Proclamations.—The Directors, Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, being both in the secret, waited in silence the result of the meeting. Sieyes was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos was in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had passed: they ordered their horses, galloped immediately to the Thuilleries, and joined the two committees of inspection, the generals, and the rest of the military, who were in deliberation upon the measures to be taken for putting the decree of the Council of Ancients in execution.

The Director Barras, had been required to give in his resignation very early in the morning, and the lady, through whom the request came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require: he at first appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time he became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required some vigorous individual at its head, for it was impossible it could go on with five people, who had no confidence in each other; but still he refused to send in his resignation.

Gohier, who was that morning to have breakfasted with Buonaparté, was extremely surprised, soon after he got up, to find what had passed, but, particularly, at the decree for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud: he went, however, into the audience chamber of the Direc-

tory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally surprised, came to him immediately; but they were both still more so when they heard that Sieyes was gone to the Thuilleries; they then sent for Ducos, and found he was there also: Barras was summoned next, and he refused to come. Gohier sent immediately for La Garde, the Secretary General, and ordered him to register a decree, which he dictated to him; but La Garde answered, "That as two members could not make a majority of the Directory, it was impossible for him to do as he requested." Moulins became extremely agitated, and proposed immediately to send a guard to invest the house of Buonaparté and keep him a prisoner; but he was told, that it would be impossible, for every soldier then in Paris was under Buonaparté's command. General Lefebvre was requested to attend them: but he confirmed what they had before heard, and said, "That as he was under the orders of Buonaparté, he could not march a single man without his permission." They then despaired of retaining their power; and in a few minutes the Luxembourg was invested with a strong guard, sent there by Buonaparté.

By the Constitution it was requisite that the act for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the Directory; and Gohier, impelled by that curiosity and indecision that characterizes weakness, went to the Thuilleries and added his name to those of Sieyes and Ducos. Unwilling to part with his dignity, he repented of what he had done; and when the great seal of state, which was in his possession, as President was demanded of him, he refused to give it up. As soon as he returned to the Luxembourg a strong guard was immediately appointed over him, and he remained a prisoner in the Directorial Palace.

Moulins was so overpowered by fear that he jumped out of a window which looked into the garden and hid

himself among the bushes till he could get quietly away: he was thought of so little consequence that no one attempted to look after him.

At noon Barras sent his resignation to Buonaparté, by his secretary, Botot. The Ex-director remained in a carriage near the Thuilleries till Botot returned with the result of his message. Buonaparté was in the apartment of the Inspectors when Botot desired to speak with him: he was introduced by Courtois, and having given the paper to the General, he inquired, in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him. "Tell that man," said Buonaparté, "that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I will cause the authority I am intrusted with to be respected." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even by those who were in the antichamber, he continued to address the astonished Secretary: "What have you done," said Buonaparté, "with the country which I left you so flourishing? I left you at peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? what is become of them? alas! they are no more! This state of things cannot last long, in three years it will end in despotism: *but we are for a Republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration.* If you believe the assertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the Republic; we, who have strengthened it by our labours and cemented it by our blood! but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service."

This harangue was highly applauded; and Botot retired in confusion, to acquaint Barras with what had passed. Barras obtained leave to retire to his superb estate

of *Gros Bois*, and a party of horse attended him, as a guard of safety.

During this time the Council of Five Hundred had assembled, filled with distrust and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely, and dreading the treachery of some whom they had no ground even to suspect. These alarms had been occasioned by the decree of the Council of Ancients and the extraordinary events of the morning: not knowing the causes from which those occurrences had originated, they were fluctuating between the conjecture and expectation which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, when the President, Lucien Buonaparté, entered the hall: eagerness was depicted in most of their countenances whilst he seated himself. From him they expected an authentic account of the proceedings of the morning and the objects to which they were directed. Lucien Buonaparté had been chosen their President some days before; and it was only known to a very few of the Members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, that it was a measure effected by the management and intrigue of the new party to assist their designs upon the Government.

To Lucien, then, the brother of General Buonaparté, every eye was turned.—The *procès verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The President arose, and read the Decree from the Council of Ancients, which removed the Legislative Body to the palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour instantly arose: the President declared the sitting dissolved, amidst a strong opposition: and he immediately quitted the hall, with several of the members, who were attached to the new order of affairs.

The time which was not occupied by these events, and the whole remainder of the day and night, was employed by Buonaparté, and the other generals and public men, with Sieyes at their head, in preparing and arranging the business of the next day. The Directory now no longer

existed: Barras was exiled to his country seat u nder guard of dragoons; Gohier and Moulins had been put in confinement at the Luxembourg; and the other two Directors, Sieyes and Ducos, were accelerating the new changes. Every public street and square in Paris was paraded by different parties of soldiery.

THE END OF CHAP. XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

NINETEENTH OF BRUMAIRE....*Sittings of the Legislative Body at St. Cloud....The Jacobins carry several Motions in the Council of Five Hundred....Barras formally sends in his Resignation....Buonaparté's Speech in the Council of Ancients....He repairs to the Council of Five Hundred; on entering their Hall narrowly escapes Assassination by being rescued....The Military assure him of their Fidelity ...Danger of the President Lucien Buonaparté, in advocating his Brother....He is also rescued, and acquaints the Council of Ancients with the Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred....Speech of Lucien Buonaparté to the Soldiery....Buonaparté orders the Members of the Council of Five Hundred to be expelled from their Hall...The Soldiery drive them through the Doors and Windows....Decree of the Council of Ancients thereon... A select Number of the Council of Five Hundred meet, under the Protection of the Military.. .They decree Buonaparté to have deserved well of the Country....Decree of Urgency, creating a new Government, and appointing Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparté, Consuls....Address of the Legislative Body to the French People....Proclamation of Buonaparté to the People....Speech of Lucien Buonaparté on the Consuls taking the Oaths....The Consuls arrive at Paris from St. Cloud....Address of the Consuls to the French People...,Completion of the new Revolution.*

THE 19th of Brumaire (10th of November) was big with important events. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day light. In conformity to the decree of the Council of Ancients, that body and the Council of Five Hundred were to hold their sittings there at noon: by that time the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every avenue being

strictly guarded, the Duputies could not pass without shewing their medal: only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The Picture Gallery was appointed for the Council of Ancients and the Orangerie for the Council of Five Hundred: but the sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished.

The debates were opened in the Council of Five Hundred by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried; but scarcely had it been suggested, when several members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of "Down with dictators!" became general: others exclaimed, "The Constitution or death! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post!" and some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the Constitution. The members of the other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins, it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours: and when this was over, various propositions were offered and discussed amidst great confusion. At length some motions were proposed and adopted, totally opposite to the intentions of those who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was now brought in, addressed to the Council: it was opened by the President, who announced that it came from Barras. On being read, it imported his resignation, but was couched in such guarded and ambiguous terms as seemed to intimate a desire to be employed in the new Government; and the letter gave rise to a

violent debate, on the question, Whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new Director? Much of the confusion arose from the members who were well disposed towards a change of government, but who had come to the Assembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Buonaparté. They had been easily induced to listen to the extravagant reports which were circulated by the Jacobins, who produced all the confusion which had arisen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that some vigorous measures should be taken to complete the revolution. Buonaparté being informed of the tumultuous discussions became violently agitated. He hastened to the Council of Ancients, and, having left his arms in an anti-chamber, entered the Assembly, and requested permission to address the sitting. Leave was given, and he instantly delivered the following harangue with great animation.

" *Representatives of the People!*

" You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country; and suspend, I beseech you, your judgments, untill I have finished what I have to say.

" I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your Decree, which informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to come to your assistance, with my brother soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the Republic, of our pure and disinterested motives? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us given similar pledges? as a reward for our services, they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which surrounds

us every where, that of the public misery which continues to increase.

" It would be sacrilegious to attempt the destruction of a representative government in the age of knowledge and liberty. No one, but a madman, would attempt to ruin the success of a republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having supported it with so much glory and peril as I have done. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed sufficient ravages? what class has not, in turn, suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations.

" If I had any personal or ambitious objects in view; if I had wished to crush the liberty of my country; if I had wished to usurp the supreme authority, I should not have obeyed the orders you gave me; I should have had no occasion for the mandate of the Senate.—More than once, in extremely favourable circumstances, have I been called to take the reins of government. After our triumphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the desire of the nation, by the request of my comrades, and by that of the soldiers, who have been oppressed in my absence; of the soldiers who are still obliged to cary on a most horrible war in the departments, which wisdom and order had calmed, and which folly and treason have rekindled.

" The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders; but it is on you alone that its safety depends—for the Directory is no more. Four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments; the Minister of Police has just informed me, that in La Vendee several places

are already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The Council of Ancients is invested with great power; but, it is also animated by still greater wisdom; consult that alone, consider the near approach of dangers, and prevent anarchy. Let us endeavour to preserve the two objects for which we have made so many sacrifices—Liberty and Equality. Liberty alone is dear to me, and I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the Republic."

"And of the Constitution!" exclaimed Moreau de l' Yonne.

"The Constitution!" replied Buonaparté with indignant warmth. "Does it become you to name it? what is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you no trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial?—The Constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who has been, or who can be, safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been indignantly violated.

"To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the Republic and liberty of France.

"As soon as these objects be attained, and the dangers of the country shall have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here eagerly confirmed the assertions of Buonaparté, "and" said he, "I am acquainted with some *criminal opinions* that are entertained of the General,

which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers."

The spectators were ordered to withdraw, and as soon as the Hall was cleared Buonaparté continued:

"Criminal opinions! I could reveal to you circumstances which would instantly confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that even two of your late magistrates—the Directors Barras and Moulins, themselves, advised me to overturn the Government, and put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed these overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered me their services, but I have rejected all their overtures as unworthy the ear of a Republican.

"I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the God of War, and Fortune and the God of War are with me. Be not afraid, Representatives of the People! of criminal plots; I, and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you, and the Republic.—(*Glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the Hall,*) "I appeal, fellow soldiers," said he, "to you—You, before whom the Jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—You, grenadiers, whose caps I see; you, soldiers, whose bayonets I have so often directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, and to their lasting disgrace; and which you have so often employed in the foundation of several republics—I entreat you to turn those dreadful bayonets against my own breast, if ever you behold me abandon the cause of liberty.

"Representatives of the People! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country."—Buonaparté now retired.

The Council of Five Hundred were engaged in violent discusssion, when Buonaparé suddenly entered the Hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers also without arms, and who waited within the door.—He advanced towards the top of the Hall, and the Council was instantly

in motion: "A General here!" cried they, "what does Buonaparté want with us? This is not your place. Some of the members flew to the tribunes, others hastened towards Buonaparté, vehemently exclaiming, "No dictators! Down with the Tyrant! Down with him! Kill him, kill him!" He was pushed back and struck at. Several of the Council drew poniards and pistols; and Arena, a native of Corsica, and one of the Deputies, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it with his arm, and was wounded. By another blow Buonaparté was wounded in the cheek.

The President, Lucien Buonaparté, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak: "The General," said he, "has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the present situation of affairs."—Loud clamours and threats prevented his being heard any further; and the General was so overpowered by the number of those who rushed forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the Hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded him and carried him out. As soon as the soldiers had left the Hall, the members instantly decreed, that the Council of Ancients had no power to invest Buonaparté with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone. The President, Lucien, animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the Republic.—Several members cried out, "Outlaw him! he has disgraced his military character, and he deserves death from the hand of every patriot:" others said, "The *President* is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the General outlawed."—The Assembly had become a mob, and the President was attacked on all sides.—His authority being no longer submitted to, and his life even endangered; he

darted from the chair—indignantly stripped himself of the insignia of his office, and made his way to the tribune; when he had mounted it, he attempted to make himself be heard—his voice was drowned in loud cries against himself and his brother.—He violently exerted himself, but to no effect; and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. His destruction seemed almost inevitable.

When the soldiers, by whom General Buonaparté was rescued, had escorted him to the outside of the Hall, in a few instants recovered from the fatigue of his late danger.—He hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them; "Soldiers" said he, "Everybody thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country, but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies; Comrades! may I rely on you?"—"Yes, yes," shouted they, "Long live Buonaparté!"—He selected some grenadiers, who threw open the doors of the Hall, just as Lucien had feared that he should fall by the stilettos of the Deputies. He was carried off amidst their vociferations, and he immediately proceeded to the Council of Ancients, to whom he related the recent danger of his brother and himself, in the Council of Five Hundred.—Lucien was interrupted in his speech, by Regnier observing the irregularity of letting a member of the Council of Five Hundred speak in the Council of Elders. This objection, however was overlooked, and Lucien Buonaparté afterwards went to his brother, who was inspiriting the troops to the accomplishment of his object: after a moment's conference with the General, Lucien mounted a horse, in order to be better seen and heard, and addressed the soldiers to the following effect:

"Citizens!—As President of the Council of Five Hundred I declare to you, that the immense majority of the Council is now subdued by the terror of some representatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death

those who would refuse to comply with their destructive measures. I declare to you, that those audacious assassins, no doubt paid by England, are in a state of rebellion against the Council of Ancients, and have threatened with an outlawry, the very General intrusted with the wise measures of that Council; as if we were still in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed!* was sufficient to cut off the most illustrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that those few assassins are themselves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that Council. In the name of the people, who, since so many years, are the victims of those wretched children of terror, I entrust to the brave soldiers the honourable task of rescuing the majority of the Representatives; in order, that, after being protected by the bayonets against the poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the Republic.

" General! Soldiers! and Citizens! you will only acknowledge for French legislators those who follow me out of that seditious assembly; those who remain in the Orangerie must be driven from thence by force. Those assassins are not representatives of the people, but *representatives of the poniard:* such shall be their title wherever they may go; and, whenever they will dare to show themselves to the people, let them be pointed at under the deserved appellation of " Representatives of the poniard."

Lucien Buonaparté concluded his speech by crying, out " Long live the Republic!" and the soldiers shouted, " Long live the Republic! Long live Buonaparté!"

General Serrurier made the following short and energetic speech to the soldiers:

" Soldiers!—The Council of Elders approves General Buonaparté, whom the Council of Five Hundred has attempted to assassinate. Villains! we will overcome them, and peace shall be restored."

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The commanding officer ex-

claimed: "General Buonaparté commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced and filled the first half of the hall, the other half was occupied by the Deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the President's chair. A member, called Talot, said to the soldiers: "What are you soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle?" Many of the members addressed the soldiers, conjuring them in the name of Liberty not to follow their leaders. The drums now beat and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the tardy Deputies: in their haste to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers they choaked up the windows and doors and tumbled over one another. The chamber was soon cleared of them, amidst the cries, by the soldiers, of "Long live the Rrepublic! Long live Buonaparté!" and they were received on the outside by the hootings and hisses of the people.

The Council of Antients was acquainted with the occurrences in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, and at six o'clock they issued a decree, to the following purport:

"Considering the *retreat* of the Council of Five Hundred, and that of four Directors, the fifth (Gohier) being confined, a temporary executive commission, of three members, shall be appointed.

"The Legislature is adjourned to the 1st of Nivose next, (December 22) when it will meet again in Paris, without farther convocation.

"During the recess there will be an intermedial commission of the Council of Ancients, the only existing one, in order to protect the rights of the national representation.

" The intermedial commission is authorized to convoke the Legislature previous to that time, if it deems that convenient.

" The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Council shall proceed to the execution of the above-mentioned measures."

About nine o'clock those members of the Council of Five Hundred who had followed Lucien Buonaparté, their President, were again assembled in the Orangerie, under the protection of the troops. Lucien once more took the chair in safety, and sent a message to the Council to inform them of their having met: he then moved the following Resolutions, which were immediately passed:

" The Council of Five Hundred declares, That General Buonaparté, and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as likewise the soldiers employed at St. Cloud, having saved the majority of the Legislature and the Republic, attacked by a factious minority, composed of assassins, have deserved well of their country.

" The Council declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poiret, who have defended General Buonaparté against the poniards of the assassins, have also deserved well of the country."

Chazal proposed that a committee of five members should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government: after this was adopted Lucien Buonaparté quitted the President's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause and repeated cries of " Long live the Republic!" Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government: he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the

profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, as well as on the defects of the Constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power, to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy.

The Council then passed the following

DECREE:

1st. There is no longer an Executive Directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning:

Joubert, Joanne, Talot, Duplantier, Arena, Garaud, Quirot, Leclerc, Chappers, Briche, Poulain—Grandpre, Bertrand, Goupilleau, Daubermesnil, Marquesi, Guesdon, Grandmaison, Crocassand, Dormond, Frison, Dessaix, Bergasse, Lazinoul Montpellier, Constant, Briot, Destrem, Carrere, Lagarriere, Gorraud, Legot, Blin, Boulay Paty, Sonilhe, Demoor, Rigonet, Mentor, Boissier, Bailly, Bourier, Prichet, Honore Declerc, Bouffot, Gastin, Laurent, Reitz, Prudhom, Porte, Truck, Delbrel, Leyris, Doche Dehille, Stevenotte, Lesage Senault, Chalemele, Andre, Memartelle, Colombel, Phillippe, Moreau, Jourdan, Letourneur, Citadella, Jourdan and Bordas.

2nd. The Legislative Body creates, provisionally, an Excutive Consular Committee, composed of citizens SIEYES and ROGER DUCOS, Ex-directors, and BUONAPARTE, General. They shall bear the name of "CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

3rd. This Committee is invested with the full powers of the Directory, and especially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquility, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorized to send delegates with a power limited according to its own power.

5th. The Legislative Body is adjourned to the 20th of February: it is to meet at that period, in full power, at Paris.

6th. During the adjournment of the Legislative Body the members shall preserve their indemnity and their constitutional security.

7th They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as ministers, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive consular committee, and in all other civil functions; they are even invited, in the name of the public good, to accept them.

8th. Before their separation, and during the time of their sitting,

each Council shall name, from among their members, a committee of twenty-five members.

9th. The Committees appointed by the Two Councils will, in conjunction with the Committee of the Executive Consulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation, and finance.

10th. To the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred will belong the right of proposing, and to that of the Council of Elders that of sanctioning them.

11th. The Two Committees will also, in the order above mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the Constitution which experience may have shewn to be inconvenient or vicious.

12th, These changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the sovereignty of the people; the republic one and indivisible; the representative system; the division of power; liberty, equality, and the safety of property.

13th. The Executive Consulate Committee may lay before the other Committees their views upon these subjects.

14th. The Two Committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their sittings will be held at Paris, in the palace of the Legislative Body, and they may be convoked extraordinarily, for the ratification of peace, or in case of great public danger.

16th. These Resolutions shall be printed, and sent, by extraordinary couriers, to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all the communes of the Republic.

This decree was sent to the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred composed the following Address from the Legislative Body to the French People, dated St. Cloud, 10th November 1799:

"FRENCHMEN!—The Republic has, once more, been saved from the attacks of the factious. Your faithful Representatives have broken the poniards in the hands of the assassins, who threatened you with destruction: they felt that it was time to terminate for ever such terrible commotions; and, having consulted but their duty and their courage, they are confident to have proved worthy of their constituents.

"Frenchmen! your mutilated liberty, still bleeding from the wounds made by the Revolutionary Government, thought to have found shelter under a constitution

which promised at least some rest. The want of repose was generally felt, a deep terror was still impressed on every soul, and the awful crisis was not forgotten. Your military glory might have effaced the most wonderful achievements of antiquity. Struck with admiration, the Europeans were elated with your glory, and made secret vows for the object you aimed at; in short, your enemies sued for peace: everything seemed to co-operate to ensure you, at last, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty and happiness; that happiness and that liberty which alone can ensure it seemed likely to reward such generous endeavours. But seditious men have constantly attacked with boldness the weak side of your constitution; they have cunningly availed themselves of those articles which might lead to new commotions. The constitutional system has been but a string of revolutions, in different shapes, of which the several factions have taken advantage: even those who wished the most to abide by the Constitution have been often compelled to enforce its violation to prevent its destruction. From such an unsettled state of government proceeded the still more unsettled state of legislation, and the most sacred rights of social men have been abandoned to the whims of factions and events. It is high time to put a period to such commotions; it is high time to give solid guarantees to the liberty of the citizens, to the sovereignty of the people, to the independence of the constitutional powers; in a word, to the Commonwealth, the name of which has served but too often to authorize the violation of all principles: it is high time that the Great Nation may have a becoming government, a steady and wise government, who may give you a speedy and solid peace, and ensure you a real happiness. Frenchmen! those are the motives which have occasioned the energetic measures of the legislature. In order to obtain more rapidly the final and complete restoration of every branch of the administration a temporary government is instituted: they are in-

vested with a sufficient power to enforce the respect of the laws, to protect the peaceful citizens, and to repress all the conspirators and wicked men. Royalty shall no longer rear its head: the frightful remains of the revolutionary government shall disappear; republic and liberty shall cease to be phantoms: a new age shall begin. Frenchmen! stand by your magistrates: nothing can diminish the zeal of those who have had the courage to conceive such flattering and sublime hopes for your welfare: the success now depends on your confidence, on your union, and on your wisdom. Soldiers of liberty! you will be deaf to every perfidious insinuation; you will pursue your victorious career; you will conquer peace, in order to come back among your brothers, to enjoy all the blessings you have ensured them, and to receive from the national gratitude the honours and the rewards worthy of your glorious deeds.

"Long live the Republic!"

Buonaparté, in the interim, was busied in preparing a Proclamation, with the assistance of his secretary, Bourienne, and it was issued at eleven o'clock at night, on the 19th Brumaire, (10th November, 1799) in the following form:

PROCLAMATION

Of the Commander-in-Chief, BUONAPARTE.

"ON my return to Paris I found discord reigning among all the Constituted Authorities, and that they agreed only respecting one truth, viz. 'That the constitution was half destroyed, and was unable to save the cause of Liberty.' All parties came to me, entr ted me with their designs, disclosed to me their secrets, and solicited my support. I refused to lend myself to any party. The Council of Elders called me before them. I obeyed the call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of liberty, of equality, of property. This plan required a calm and free investigation, unbiassed by any influence or by any fears. Agreeably to this idea, the Council of Elders resolved upon transferring the Legislative Body to St.

Cloud: they charged me with the military force necessary to protect their independence. I deemed it a duty I owed to my fellow citizens, the soldiers, who are perishing in our armies, and the national glory, acquired by their blood, to accept that command. The Councils assembled at St. Cloud; the Republican troops watch over their external security; but assassins make terror prevail in the interior. Several Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with stilettos and pistols, circulated all around them the threats and terrors of death. The plans that were to be developed are limited; the majority disorganized, the most intrepid speakers disconcerted, and the proposal and agitation of any wise measure became utterly useless, I communicated my indignation and my sorrow to the Council of Elders; I requested to be allowed to secure the execution of their generous designs; I represented to them the calamities of the country by which they had been suggested; they joined me in new testimonies of their constant determination. I appeared in the Council of Five Hundred alone, without arms, my head uncovered, such as the Elders had received and applauded me. I went to remind the majority of the intentions by which they were animated, and to assure them that they might rely on their power. The stilettos, by which the Deputies were menaced, were immediately raised against him who wished to be their deliverer. Twenty assassins darted upon me and aimed at my breast; the grenadiers of the Legislative Body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran up and threw themselves between the assassins and me; one of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, received a blow of a stiletto, which pierced his cloths—they carried me off. At the same moment, the cries of "Declare *him an outlaw!*" were heard against the man who wished to defend the law. It was the frantic cry of the assassin against the force destined to rob him of his prey.—They thronged round the President with threats in their mouths, and arms in their hands; they ordered him to put the question of outlawry. I was informed of this, and gave orders to rescue him from their fury, and accordingly six grenadiers brought him out. Immediately after, some grenadiers of the Legislative Body entered, at the *pas de charge*, into the hall, and cleared it. The factious leaders, being thus intimidated, dispersed and went away. The majority, rescued from their attempts, freely and peaceably returned to the hall of their sittings, and heard the propositions which were to be made for the public safety, deliberated upon them, and prepared the salutary resolution, which is to become the new and provisional law of the Republic.—Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognize in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of Liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the Republic. Views directed to conservation, to protection, to liberal purposes, will resume their influence by the dispersion

of incendiaries who oppressed the Council; and who, though they rendered themselves the most odious, never ceased to be the most contemptible of mankind.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

Whilst the Council of Five Hundred was engaged in composing its Address to the People, and Buonaparté was busied in promulging his Proclamation, the Council of Ancients were employed in discussing the decree sent to them from the Council of Five Hundred: at one o'clock in the morning the Council of Ancients announced their approbation of it; and the Three Consuls went to the Council of Five Hundred, where the President, Lucien Buonaparté, spoke to them thus:

"CITIZENS!

"The greatest people upon earth entrust you with their destinies; within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the distresses of the armies, and *peace*, all these are entrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust and such high functions; but you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and, besides, it is well known to the Legislature that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and returned to Paris about four in the morning of the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions immediately. The seal of the Republic was changed, and the newspapers were stopped at the post-office, and new ones printed, to inform the departments of all that had been transacted. In the evening of the 12th the following Address from the Consuls was read through Paris, by torch-light:

THE CONSULS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Paris, 21st Brumaire, (12th November) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"THE Constitution of the Third Year was perishing; it could neither ensure your right nor its own safety. Repeated violations de

prived it for ever of the respect of the people; several odious and rapacious factions desolated the Republic. France was, at last, on the very brink of a total ruin.

"The Patriots have agreed upon a plan. Those men who might have been dangerous to you have been discarded: those who may be useful to you, and those who behave well in the national representation, have never abandoned the banners of liberty.

Frenchmen! the Republic being better settled in that rank of Europe, which she should never have lost, will see the hopes of her citizens accomplished and her glorious destinies fulfilled.

Take with us *the oath of allegiance to the Republic one and indivisible, grounded on* EQUALITY, *on* LIBERTY, *and on the* REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

(Signed) "ROGER DUCOS,
"BUONAPARTE,
"SIEYES."

("A true copy.) Signed *Hugues Bernard Maret*
Secretary General."

This change in the government was agreeable to the people, because the Directory, whom they hated for their corruption and despised for their weakness, was removed. It was clamoured against by the Jacobins, because they saw that their strength was departing from them and that their own designs were frustrated; but their murmurs were as effectually suppressed as their efforts, by the arrest of their leaders: they had not even the means of turning the attention of the people to the fallen Directors; although, if they had once more emerged into notice, it would have exposed them to ridicule and danger. Sieyes and Ducos were in the new Executive; and least of all did the other Ex-directors court popular observation. Barras, had amassed a princely fortune, and consoled himself with the enjoyments which his riches offered to his voluptuousness. Gohier, the late President of the Directory, had lost, with the costume of his office, all the consequence which he derived from its distinctive character. Moulins was so much the creature of fear, that, having fled from his post in the hour of danger, he trembled lest the new Consuls should seek to punish him,

for the very act of weakness which assisted in lifting them into office. The Directory, then, had sunk, never to rise again, either into power as magistrates or esteem as men.

The Revolution of the EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH BRUMAIRE was a revolution of force without bloodshed, which raised a military government upon the ruins of those other revolutions, that had, alternately, originated in opinion and in terror, and that had failed in securing the happiness and liberty of the people, because the good men thought many were not energetic, and because the vile and the vicious succeeded in duping the honest, of the nation and destroying its virtue. This Revolution, which effected so much, is remarkable for having been accomplished without bloodshed or sanguinary punishment. The bayonet was shown, and was as much respected as a more legitimate argument would have been; that it was not used was, because no resistance could be opposed to it by men in whom the people had no confidence. Buonaparté and the army were the founders of the new government, and military pomp and etiquette were united with its magisterial functions.

THE END OF CHAP. XVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

State of the Population and Agriculture of France at the Time Buonaparté became Consul.

BUONAPARTE having succeeded in destroying the government of the Directory, and himself being invested with the Consular Dignity, it is interesting to inquire what strength and resources then remained to France after so many convulsions, and such violent revolutions of her system.—The number of inhabitants, the appropriation of their industry, the quantity of land in cultivation, the state of manufactures and trade, are the material points upon which the statesman will solicitously endeavour to obtain information, before he attempts to better the condition of a country, whose body politic is enfeebled and deranged.

France was estimated by the Constituent Assembly, before the war, to contain a population of 26,363,074. M. Necker, in a calculation made ten years before, mentions the number to have been 24,800,000, and expresses his firm belief that the yearly births at that time amounted to above a million. It appears that the population of France remained undiminished, in spite of all the causes of destruction which operated upon it during the course of the Revolution; and that however severely her manufactures had suffered, her agriculture had increased rather than lessened. Those who were thrown out of work by the destruction of the manufactures, and who did not go to the armies, betook themselves to the labours of agriculture; at the same time the absence of a large portion of the best and most vigorous hands raised the price of labour; and as from the new land brought into cultivation, and the absence of a considerable part of the greatest consumers in foreign countries, the price of provi-

sions did not rise in proportion, this advance in the price of labour not only operated as a powerful encouragement to marriage, but enabled the peasants to live better, and to rear a greater number of their children.

The number of small farmers and proprietors in France was always great, and the sale and division of many of the large domains of the nobles and clergy considerably increased the number of landed proprietors during the Revolution; whilst, as a part of these domains consisted of parks and chaces, new territory was given to the plough. Although the land tax was heavy, and injudiciously imposed, that disadvantage was nearly counterbalanced by the removal of the former oppressions under which the cultivator laboured: and the sale and division of the great domains was as a clear advantage on the side of agriculture.

Thus the means of subsistence at least remained unimpaired, if they did not increase; whilst the births increased, and the deaths of those remaining in the country diminished; and it appears, that, including those who fell in the armies, and by violent means, the *deaths* did not exceed the births in the course of the Revolution.

The estimate of the population, at the period of the Constituent Assembly, has already been mentioned, and at this time the number of persons to a square league was reckoned 996. In the year Six of the Republic, the result of the *Bureau de Cadastre* gave a population of 26,048,254, and the number to a square league 1,020. In the year Seven, Dépere calculated the whole population of France at 33,501,094, of which 28,810,694 belonged to ancient France; the number to a square league being 1,101.

Here, however, it should be remarked, that though the numerical population of France might not have suffered by the Revolution; yet, that if her losses were in any degree equal to some conjectures on the subject, her military strength could not have been unimpaired. Her

population consisted of a much greater proportion than usual of women and children; and the body of unmarried persons, of a military age, diminished in a very striking manner. At all times the number of males, of a military age in France, was small in proportion, on account of the tendency to marriage, and the great number of children.

The Official Reports from the Departments, afford useful information respecting the agriculture of France, about the time of the Revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire. Out of seventy-eight reports six are of opinion that it is improved; ten, that it is deteriorated; seventy demand that it should be encouraged in general; thirty-two complain of "the multiplicity of inclosures;" and twelve demand "the encouragement of inclosures." One of the reports mentions, "the prodigious quantity of waste lands put in cultivation within a short time, and of labour being increased excessively beyond the number of labourers;" and others speak of "a great quantity of land having been for several years laid down for cultivation," which appeared to be successful at first, but it was soon perceived that it would be more profitable to cultivate less, and cultivate well. Many of the reports notice the cheapness of corn, and the want of sufficient vent for this commodity; and in the discussion of the question respecting the division of the national domains, it is observed, that "having created a greater number of small farmers, and greatly encouraged inclosures, commodities were in a certain degree augmented; but it was to be observed, that the uncultivated pastures no longer existing, had tended to diminish the number of cattle." On the whole, therefore, it should seem that though the agriculture of the country does not appear to have been conducted judiciously, so as to obtain a large *surplus* produced, yet that the *absolute* produce had by no means been diminished during the Revolution, and that the attempt to bring so much new land under cultivation had contributed to make

the scarcity of labourers still more sensible; and if the food of the country did not decrease during the Revolution, the high price of labour must have operated as a most powerful encouragement to population among the labouring part of the society.

Of the state of the hospitals and charitable establishments, of the prevalence of beggary, and the mortality among the exposed children, a most deplorable picture is drawn in almost all the reports. It appears, however, that the hospitals and charitable establishments lost almost the whole of their revenues during the Revolution; and this sudden substraction of support from a great number of people, who had no other reliance, together with the known failure of manufactures in the towns, and the very great increase of illegitimate children, might, produce all the distressing appearances described in the reports, without impeaching the great fact of the meliorated condition of agricultural labourers in general, necessarily arising from the acknowledged high price of labour, and the comparative cheapness of corn. If the Poor's Rates of England were suddenly abolished there would, undoubtedly, be the most complicated distress among those who were before supported by them; but it would not, therefore, follow, that either the condition of the labouring part of the society in general, or the population of the country would suffer from it.

It should seem from these facts and conclusions, (which are partly the labour of a gentleman who has recently written a very elaborate Work upon Population,) that, at the time Buonaparté became Consul of the French Republic, its population was thirty-three millions and a half; that land was more equally divided than before the Revolution; that although the breed of cattle might have been somewhat reduced, more land was therefore brought into cultivation; and that there was absolutely more land laid down for tillage than could be cultivated; that more

corn was produced than could be consumed; and that, although the price of provisions was extremely low, the price of labour was very high.

The Revolution, then, had wrought a very considerable improvement in the state of the people, though at the expense of millions of treasure and of lives, and a series of confusion which had lasted during ten years. A train of accidents had effected what no government in the annals of the world had ever accomplished by the power of reason; the price of labour was high, and yet the price of grain was low; in other words, provisions were easily procurable by the mass of the people. If existing governments were happily endowed with both wisdom and honesty, they might improve this circumstance for the benefit of their respective countries; for the causes are clear and apparent, and require no elucidation by metaphysical research. The emigrations and confiscations that had taken place, had swelled the national domains prodigiously, and the lands had been sold at very small prices, which had enabled persons, whose capitals were discharged by the disorder of the Revolution, to direct their attention to agricultural improvements. The decay of trade, and the insecurity of the funds, induced people to cultivate the soil, whilst the demand of the armies for men, kept the labourers from encreasing too rapidly.

It is worth observing, that the French Government never found it necessary to attempt the practice of exporting provisions; necessity made agriculture the mean of employing capital, and the consequence was, that grain and every other article, was proportionably cheap. Had the French government raised the price of corn, by permitting it to be exported, the effect would have been the same as if the capitals had been drawn off by the allurements of trade, or by high prices of the public funds. Nobody was willing to trust the Government, and the want of public credit conferred a double benefit on the nation: first, it escaped the burden of interest on a debt;

and, secondly, it had the whole capital of the country employed in the production of internal plenty. This state of things forms a striking contrast to the wretchedness of nations whose governments are in high credit with money jobbers; but the indifference of persons in general, to this interesting subject, continues much as it was when Hume wrote upon it.

"I must confess, (says that writer,) that there is a strange supineness, from long custom, crept into all ranks of men, with regard to public debts; not unlike what divines so vehemently complain of with regard to their religious doctrines. We all own, that the most sanguine imagination cannot hope, either that this, or any future ministry will be possest of such rigid and steady frugality, as to make any considerable progress in the payment of our debts, or that the situation of foreign affairs will, for any long time, allow them leisure and tranquillity, sufficient for such an undertaking.

"In times of peace and security, when alone it is possible to pay debt, the monied interest are averse to receive partial payment, which they know not how to dispose of to advantage; and the landed interest are averse to continue the taxes requisite for that purpose. Why, therefore, should a minister persevere in a measure so disagreeable to all parties? For the sake, I suppose, of a posterity, which he will never see, or of a few reasonable, reflecting people, whose united interest, perhaps, will not be able to secure him the smallest borough in England. It is not likely we shall ever find any minister so bad a politician. With regard to these narrow, destructive maxims of politics, all ministers are expert enough.

"What then is to become of us? Were we ever so good Christians, and ever so resigned to providence; this, methinks, were a curious question, even considered as a speculative one, and what it might not be altogether impossible to form some conjectural solution of. The events here will depend little upon the contingencies

of battles, negotiations, intrigues, and factions. There seems to be a natural progress of things, which may guide our reasoning. As it would have required but a moderate share of prudence, when we first began this practice of mortgaging, to have foretold, from the nature of men and of ministers, that things would necessarily be carried to the length we see; so now that they have, at last, happily reached it, it may not be difficult to guess at the consequence. It must, indeed, be one of these two events; either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation. It is impossible they can both subsist, after the manner they have been hitherto managed in this, as well as in some other nations.

"There was, indeed, a scheme for the payment of our debts, which was proposed by an excellent citizen, Mr. Hutchinson, above thirty years ago, and which was much approved of by some men of sense, but never was likely to take effect. He asserted, that there was a fallacy in imagining, that the public owed this debt; for that really every individual owed a proportional share of it, and paid, in his taxes, a proportional share of the interest, beside the expenses of levying these taxes. 'Had we not better, then,' says he, 'make a proportional distribution of the debt amongst us, and each of us contribute a sum suitable to his property, and by that means, discharge at once all our funds and public mortgages?' He seems not to have considered, that the laborious poor pay a considerable part of the taxes by their annual consumptions, though they could not advance at once, a proportional part of the sum required. Not to mention, that property in money and stock in trade might easily be concealed or disguised; and that visible property in lands and houses would really at last answer for the whole: an inequality and oppression, which never would be submitted to. But, though this project is never likely to take place; it is not altogether improbable, that, when the nation become heartily sick of their debts, and are cruelly

oppress by them, some daring projector may arise, with visionary schemes for their discharge. And as public credit will begin, by that time, to be a little frail, the least touch will destroy it, as happened in France; and in this manner, it will *die of the doctor.*

" A too great disproportion among the citizens weakens any state. Every person, if possible, ought to enjoy the fruits of his labour, in a full possession of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniencies of life. No one can doubt, but such an equality is most suitable to human nature, and diminishes much less from the *happiness* of the rich than it adds to that of the poor. It also augments the *power of the state,* and makes any extraordinary taxes or impositions be paid with much more cheerfulness. Where the riches are engrossed by a few, these must contribute very largely to the supplying the public necessities. But when the riches are dispersed among multitudes, the burden feels light on every shoulder, and the taxes make not a very sensible difference on any one's way of living.

" Add to this, that, where the riches are in few hands, these must enjoy all the power, and will readily conspire to lay the whole burthen on the poor, and oppress them still further, to the discouragement of all industry."

The doctrine of Hume has been sanctioned by the Revolution, for the mass of the people were evidently bettered by it, notwithstanding the distressing scenes that had occurred. The ancient proprietors still possessed a desire to return to their monopolies, but numbers were against them; and though the Government assumed much of the old form and appearance, circumstances seemed strongly to militate against its falling into the same hands.

THE END OF CHAP. XVIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

Position of the Armies....Rome, &c. captured by the English....Declaration of the Emperor of Russia against France....Skirmishes between General Melas and Championnet in Italy....Battle of Genola....The Austrians advance towards Genoa....Coni summoned to surrender by General Melas....General Suwarrow retreats from Switzerland....Situation of the Austrian Army in consequence.... Reflections upon the Conduct of the Emperor of Russia.

THE military affairs of France on the continent have already been traced up to the time when Buonaparté returned from Egypt. It will be recollected that General Melas, at the head of the Austrian army in Italy, was opposed by General Championnet, and that the Archduke Charles, with General Suwarrow, commanded the Allied Russian and Austrian armies against General Massena in Switzerland. Beside the operations of these poweful bodies, there were various minor skirmishes which turned mostly to the advantage of the Allies; and particularly, as they led to the surrender of Rome, and Civita Vecchia, to the English squadron, commanded by Captain Trowbridge. In resuming the narrative of the war, from the period when our Hero became the directing Soul of the Republic, it will be proper to shew what were the views of the Allies, as they may be gathered from the Declaration of the Emperor of Russia, which arrived in France before the overthrow of the Directory.

COPY OF A DECLARATION,

Made by his MAJESTY the EMPEROR of all the RUSSIAS, to the MEMBERS of the GERMAN EMPIRE.

"HIS Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of Sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the

impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to dispatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore Royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of Government in the United Netherlands and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire—and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe; Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order.

"His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this Declaration to all the members of the German Empire, inviting them to join their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity.

"Should his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword, before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph."

"Gatchina, Sept. 15, (O. S.) 1799."

Genoa was the prize for which both parties were evidently contending. The Austrians were collecting all their forces to surround it by land, whilst the British were preparing to co-operate as effectually by sea; and the French were equally active in endeavouring to maintain the shock by powerful reinforcements.

General Melas received intelligence that the French were collecting a large force on the banks of the Stura, and dispatched General Guttesheim with seven battalions, to plant himself in the most advantageous position, between Fossano and Savigliano, so as to observe accurately all the motions of the enemy. These posts were attacked, but the Austrian general maintained his stand.

Championnet took up his head-quarters at Finale, 41

miles South-east of Coni; the Austrian general, Melas, fixed his at La Trinite, 39 miles North-west by West of Finale. Different detachments of the hostile armies carried on a desultory war of posts, which had for their object the protection of Coni from being invested. Klenau, who was commanded to advance towards Genoa, was repulsed by the French general, Miollis. In the mean time, the French marched upon Novi, as the post of Bochetta afforded security to the Northern parts of the Genoese territory. Novi was taken by them, and at the same time they made an attack upon General Karaczy, at Rivalta, and threatened to make an incursion into the country of the Milanese, by the way of Placentia. Championnet assembled all his forces at Coni, to which place he went in person, after he had entrusted the head and right of his line to St. Cyr, as well as Genoa and the places in its vicinity Including the detachments he called in, and the army of the Alps, he found himself at the head of no more than 25,000 men. Different skirmishes took place between the advanced guards of the hostile armies with various success, when Championnet determined to attempt the relief of Coni, by giving battle to the enemy; and conceived the design of surrounding the right wing of the Austrian army on the side of Fossano and Savigliano, to destroy their communications with Bra and Turin, and compel Melas to engage the Republicans in a situation much to his disadvantage. The Austrian general, with a view of strengthening himself, resolved to embody an army of Piedmontese. These troops were to be placed upon the ancient footing, and to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Sardinia, only without being subject to the Austrian discipline.

To conceal his designs, Championnet performed a variety of manœuvres with his right wing, and gave orders to Victor to assault the posts of La Chiusa and Villa Nova, which the Austrians abandoned in succession. The French penetrated as far as Mendovi, which declined

surrendering, while that city was blockaded, and other posts fell into the hands of the Republicans. The intentions of Championnet having, at length, been discovered by Melas, he ordered the greater part of his forces to support his right wing, and he himself had projected the plan of surrounding the left wing of the French army. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other between the Grana river and Stura. By the manœuvres of Melas, with his right wing, the French were forced to extend their left, receding farther from Coni, which enfeebled their line and compelled them to fight against superior forces.

Championnet wishing to join the troops of Duhesme, commanded Victor to proceed towards Fossano and Grenier to Savigliano; one column was ordered against Marienne, another against Genola, and a third against Fossano. The divisions of the contending armies formed on the morning of the same day, and began their march at the same period. The action was begun by General Ott, who took the route to Savigliano, against Grenier, when these divisions fought with determined bravery, using every effort to turn each other. The Republican infantry had to sustain the shocks of the enemy's cavalry, when they were, at last, forced to fall back, accomplishing their retreat in good order towards Savigliano, which place they were obliged to abandon by the united efforts of Ott and Mitrowsky. By the loss of Savigliano, Championnet was compelled to fall back on Valdizzio, being the centre position of his army; this position was no longer tenable by the French general, without running the hazard of being surrounded, on which account he drew back his left wing to Cantala, or Centale, four miles North of Coni. No farther obstacles coming in the way of Melas, he collected his troops before Contala, when the approach of night put a period to the conflict, in which both had suffered a material loss.

Contala was abandoned by the French general during the night, a part of his left wing falling back towards the valley of the Stura (extending in a South-west direction from Coni) and the troops under Grenier having passed the city of Coni, continued their retreat Southwards to the left of the torrent of the Gesso, running on the South-west of the valley of the Stura. The post of Morazzo was assaulted by Melas on the ensuing day, when a number of Republicans were obliged to lay down their arms to the victors, their retreat being effectually cut off. The loss of the battle of Genola compelled Championnet to abandon Coni to its own resources, after having lost in different actions about 8,000 men. The army, in three columns, retreated, the one by Coni, the other favouring the retreat by the Col de Tende, and a third under Mondovi, its retreat being secured by the valley of the Tanaro. Melas having received information that Championnet's forces were scattered, determined on the pursuit of them into the high vallies, to force them to abandon Coni, and to invest the place to the Westward. The Republicans were unfortunate in all directions, the forces under Duhesme retreating across the frontiers of France to Briançon by the way of Suse, and the division of Grenier falling back on the South to the top of the Appenines, near the Col de Tende.

To facilitate the siege of Coni, it was necessary to force the French to desert all the posts they occupied in its vicinity. The successes of Melas enabled him to summon Coni to surrender, but the commandant refusing to comply, he began to bombard it, taking care to prevent it from receiving assistance from any quarter whatever. Kray, on the other side, was entrusted with operations equally interesting. He gained possession of Acqui, compelling the French to retreat towards the Scrivia, who posted themselves on the reverse of the mountains of Novi, which they fortified, but from this position they were driven by General Kray, and nothing more of the

Republican conquests remained to them in Italy except the Ligurian Republic; and the Republican army was enfeebled by desertion, on account of the want of provisions.

The Austrian general now pushed on the siege of Coni with great vigor. On the 11th of November the division of General Ott attacked that part of the French which remained at Borgo Saint Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robbillante: on the same day Major-general Somasiva pursued them in the valley of the Stura as far as Demonte, of which he took possession, and made 100 prisoners: Major-general Gottersheim also obliged the French to evacuate the villages of La Chiusa, Boves, and Poveragna. General Championnet had assembled his whole force at Mondovi and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monasterlo: as long as he occupied this position it was impossible to proceed with the siege of Coni; General Melas, therefore, gave orders that a general attack should be made on the 13th: for this reason the division of General Metrowski, which had marched as far as Cherasco, for the purpose of reinforcing General Kray, was ordered to return to the camp of the Trinita on the 12th, and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mondovi. The remainder of the army marched in two columns, the one by La Chiusa, upon Monasterlo, the other by Villa Nova, upon the centre of the enemy's line. From the difficulties of the roads the attacks were not made till very late, and the enemy, without making much resistance, abandoned all his positions. The people of Mondovi opened the gates of the lower town to the Austrians. The French army retired by Vico, and evacuated the citadel of Mondovi in the night.

Suwarrow collected his army in the vicinity of Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, and rallied the divisons under Korsakow, when he found himself at the head of an army far from being contemptible, notwithstanding he had lost

more than the half of his original number. This army kept possession of Bregantz, which was a post of considerable importance, but without gaining any advantage over the French, whilst the army of the Rhine was advancing to the attack of Phillipsburg, in defiance of the Archduke Charles. The inactivity of the Combined Armies had caused much surprise, when Suwarrow, having sent back his cavalry on his rear, began to retreat, fixing his head-quarters at Memmingen. The corps of Conde at the same time filed off upon Augsburg, to take up their winter quarters either in that town or its vinicity. This defection of the Russian commander rendered the situation of the Archduke perilous in the extreme, yet he found means, with 60,000 men, to keep up a line of defence for the space of 80 leagues, from the celebrated post of Nauders, at the entrance of the Engadin, down to Philipsburg, and that too in the presence of forces superior to his own.

The French having secured their positions to the left of the Lake of Constance followed up their advantages on the side of the Grisons, by the valley of Disentis, on the Forder Rhine. Soult, Loison, and Mortier, dislodged the enemy's rear-guard, compelling them to retreat on the other side of the Rhine by the way of Feldsberg and the bridge of Richenau, which was afterwards destroyed: the Republicans penetrated no farther. Massena employed no efforts to compel the Austrians to abandon the whole of the Grisons, since he could at that period have proposed to himself no object sufficient to justify such an effusion of human blood. The different corps of his army were collected by him and concentrated on Basil and Zurich; the intrenchments at the latter place he raised and enlarged, while all the passes on the side of St. Gothard were blocked up by snow.

Prince Charles found it very difficult to hold the army of the Rhine in check, after the desertion of Suwarrow; for the contending armies were so equally balanced, that

Philipsburg was twice blockaded by the French. It would be vain to assign a cause for the departure of the Russians at so critical a moment; scarcely any conduct, of whatever kind, that Austria could have been guilty of, would have justified such a dereliction from every principle of honour, as to desert an ally at a moment when his own power was unable to protect him. It is certain that the Russian generals complained of their services not being sufficiently acknowledged by the Austrians; and the capricious disposition of the Emperor Paul required no stronger ground of jealousy to lead him to any rash determination. The Archduke Charles received notice, about the middle of November, that the Russian generals had received orders to return: but, as the season opposed many obstacles to their retreat, hopes were entertained, that the joint entreaties of the British and Austrian cabinets might induce the Emperor to change his resolution.

It was now discovered, that the Autocrat of all the Russias was nothing more than an elevated savage, whose unbending mind resisted all the powers of reasoning. Exhortation was in vain: he conceived himself to have been neglected, and he pursued only his resentment, without regarding the consequences. A more unfortunate circumstance had not occurred for the Allies since the defection of the King of Prussia: it was an evil without a mixture of good; and was the more unprincipled, as the other powers in the Confederacy had supplied contingents towards very extensive arrangements for the ensuing campaign, upon the presumed co-operation of the Russian forces. Fortune, however, favoured the Allies at this juncture, by the necessity under which the French Government was laid of sending troops into their own Departments, to quell the insurrections of the Chouans and various bodies of Royalists, who were still struggling to re-establish the Bourbons.

CHAPTER XX.

Similar Anecdotes of Cromwell and Buonaparté....New Ministry under the Consuls....Revival of Public Credit.... Decree of Deportation and Imprisonment against Fifty-nine Persons....Afterwards virtually revoked....Decree in Favour of the Priests....Humane Decree respecting shipwrecked Emigrants....The Consuls give Notice to the British Government, that they decline maintaining the French Prisoners in England, and the reasoning upon which it was justified....Company of Comedians raised, and the Ladies of the Palais Royal collected for the Use of the Army of Egypt....Address of Buonaparté, as Consul, to the Army of the East....Popularity of the Consular Government.... Establishment of a Sinking Fund for extinguishing the National Debt....A Loan voted to the Consuls by Acclamation....Talleyrand re-appointed....New Arrangements in Foreign Affairs.

CROMWELL, who snatched the reins of power from the scrambling factions that had overset the throne;—whose government, as Protector of the Commonwealth of England, after refusing the crown that was tendered to him, prolonged the interregnum of the Stuart sovereigns;—whose prudence projected, and whose energy secured, the maritime superiority of his country;—he, who humbled its enemies by his arms, and by his negociations retained all the advantages of victory;—he, to whose consummate wisdom and admirable genius we owe our naval grandeur;—that very Cromwell, when a private independent gentleman, holding an inferior rank in the King's army, being discontented with the caprices of the Court, the fooleries of the people, and the knavery of both, determined to quit the kingdom, for a country in which his talents would be better appreciated. He was stepping

on board the vessel that was to waft him away from his native shores, when a warrant, issued by the King, restrained him from leaving the kingdom. If Charles I. had not injudiciously exercised his prerogative, Cromwell would never have had it in his power to have ordered the death-warrant of that Sovereign. Charles, perhaps, would neither have been executed as a criminal against the people, by the Republicans, nor have been canonized as a martyr by the Royalists. Another saint's day would not have been added to the Calender, by the church and state bishops, nor would such of the good people of England, as *are* observers of time and seasons, have been politically divided into two parties. It would not have been a question of conscience, in the nineteenth century, whether the thirtieth of January should be kept as the aniversary fast of a martyred monarch, or as an anniversary festival to commemorate the justice inflicted by the people, upon a tyrant and a traitor.

This incidont in the life of Cromwell, is naturally suggested at the moment when Buonaparté attained the supreme power in France, by the recollection, that, at an early period of his military fame, he was constrained to remain in the French army against his own inclination, which prompted him to go to Constantinople. The mind will, involuntarily, parallel these corresponding events in the lives of two men, eminent for having risen from obscurity to the rule of two great Empires. The renown of Cromwell will blazon in English History, and be in the memory of England and her enemies as long as our annals and the faculties of memory remain: the fame of Buonaparté will live as long, and the similarity of their fortunes will often recur to the recollection.

Near a century and a half of years have passed since Cromwell triumphed over the turbulence of the times in which he lived; since he passed the barrier of being, and was laid in the narrow house for ever. When we read of him, it is of a man of other ages, whose career is ended,

and of whom every thing has been told that it is now possible to know; but Buonaparté is of our own times, and has influenced, and is influencing our own affairs. Those who have seen, and heard, and read of him, are anxious to know more. The biographer has to toil for information through the tedious details of the politican, to collect the facts that lie scattered in the pages of the annalist, and to preserve the anecdotes that would have otherwise been destroyed with the temporary pages of the journalist. He has already represented what events occurred to the period when Buonaparté became Consul of the Republic, the important incidents subsequent to his elevation are now to be related.

The new Consuls entered immediately upon an exercise of their functions; it had been settled that there should be no president of the Consulate, but that one Consul should be in constant attendance to his duty, and each attend in rotation. Maret, who had been ambassador at Naples, was appointed Secretary General of the Consulate.

Intermediate commissions of the Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred assembled, and passed some resolutions, abrogating former obnoxious decrees, substituting a war tax in lieu of a forced loan, ordering the payment of the annuities and pensions in a more regular and equitable manner, and adopting a new system of finance. The decisive measures of the new Government revived public confidence, and the funds rose very rapidly, whilst its temper towards those who were not likely to approve its proceedings was manifested, by a Decree, which ordered the deportation to Cayenne of thirty-seven persons, and sentenced to imprisonment twenty-two: amongst them were Arena, F. Lepelletier, Briot, Santhonax, and General Jourdan. The name of the latter was afterwards erased; "He has fallen into errors," said the Consuls, "but he has always been a good defender of the Republic." The Consuls, at length, gradually revoked the Decree against the whole number.

Religion was early attended to by the Consular Government, and the conciliation of the priests to the new order of affairs was attempted, in consequence of a report of Fouché, relative to the banished priests. It was declared by the Minister of Police, "that there were undoubtedly a great number of priests dangerous disturbers, whom authority should watch with unceasing vigilance, and sometimes punish; but there were also among them men of peaceable dispositions, and obedient to the laws, who would have served the Republic, if they had not by some oppressive measures suffered the greatest violence in their dearest affections and most ancient habits; such was the deplorable effect of the violent measures resorted to during the tempest of the Revolution. Public pity for persecuted priests had awakened the force of justice against the intolerant and fanatic among them; and superstition was reviving, even then, the recollection of all the proscriptions exercised upon the ministers of worship." The Consuls, therefore, decreed, that the arrets of the Directory relative to the priests were repealed, and that all of those priests who had taken the oath and all of those who had married, and were imprisoned, should be released.

Before the Consulate was appointed, the Legislative Bodies had often discussed the case of some unhappy Emigrants, who had been unfortunately shipwrecked on their native shores: nothing, however, had been decided on respecting them, for the Jacobins would have sent them to the guillotine; and the Moderatists, to preserve them from so cruel a fate, contrived to postpone the deliberations. The Emigrants had remained upwards of three years in close confinement at Calais, and were afterwards removed to the Castle of Ham, in Picardy. The Consuls, by a humane decree, declared, that their case was in no instance anticipated by the laws respecting Emigrants; that it was contrary to the rights of polished nations to

take advantage of the accident of shipwreck, and give up, even to the just operation of the laws, unfortunate persons who had escaped from the waves; and that, therefore, they should be released, and sent from the territory of the Republic. This was an easy and an honourable method of obtaining the friendship of an enemy. It is true, that pity is what "the happy to the unhappy owe," and the debt is sometimes discharged. Here, not only pity was exhibited in an act of mercy towards the unhappy, but from that quarter whence vengeance, rather than forbearance, was expected.

Whilst exercising this act of clemency to a few miserable Emigrants, the Consuls published the following Notice relative to the French prisoners in England:

"The Consuls have notified to the English Government, that, from the 22nd December, all the expenses necessary to the maintenance of the French prisoners in England shall be at the charge of the *British* Government."

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.
"SIEYES.
HUGUES BERNARD MARET, "ROGER DUCOS."
Secretary General.

By what policy and by what humanity this determination was dictated, the arguments which were used at the time will shew. They are curious, because they manifest an excessive refinement of principle, that has been equally admired and condemned.

"It is known," says one of the French papers of the day, "that the Directory had for three years taken upon themselves to furnish the money for the support of the French prisoners in England*. This measure has been abandoned, and a notification has been made to the English Government.

"The notification is in conformity with the common

* A recurrence to chapter xxi. vol. ii. of the present Work, will prove that the Directory did not always think proper to send their agents the money they took upon themselves to furnish for that purpose.

custom of war, and is an act of wise administration and good policy. The old Directory is, perhaps, the first government which set the example of a belligerent power supporting its prisoners upon the territories of its enemies. It will be recollected at what epoch, with what forms, and with what intention, the English were relieved from the care of supporting our prisoners. Men must have seen in this new arrangement a sort of insult; the English papers at that time were filled with bitter complaints, with almost official justifications of their conduct, supported by most authentic proofs.

"Well informed men saw with surprise the French Government abandon itself blindly to these impolitic suggestions; release the English from the expense and embarrassment of making burdensome advances; exhaust, of its own accord, the remains of its specie, in order to send it to England; deprive themselves of the pecuniary resources, of which they stood so pressingly in need, in order to add to the pecuniary resources of its enemy; and, in short, support the enormous expenses of its administration.

"The English, whilst they exclaimed against the injustice of the accusation, gathered with pleasure the fruits of this error of the Directory, though our old monarchial Government left England during the whole war to support the expense of the prisoners, and did not liquidate the balance till the return of peace, and, consequently, the return of circulation, credit, commerce, and plenty, rendered the payment more easy.

"The generally received custom of leaving to the humanity of belligerent nations the care of protecting and supporting prisoners marks the progress of civilization. This proof of confidence and reciprocal esteem between nations at war is one of the means of approximation and reconciliation. We cannot, therefore, avoid seeing in this notification of the Consular Government a return of the true principles which their loyalty honours."

This reasoning, by which the abandonment of the French prisoners of war to the care of the enemy is justified, was not the less suitable to the purposes of the Consulate, for having afforded an opportunity of reviling the Directory. Perhaps, the real motive that induced the measure was an exhausted treasury; for not only did the Consuls refuse to send over any remittances for future supplies, but they neglected to furnish the French agent for prisoners in England, with money to pay for the articles he had taken up for their use, before the official notice had arrived; and he was detained by the British Government for the debts he had contracted on that account.

For the army under Kleber, in Egypt, Buonaparté manifested no intentions which could induce the Parisians, to believe that the French arms were not completely victorious in that quarter, and that the British possessions in India would not shortly be *annexed* to France. Indeed, so well did he dissemble any concern he might naturally be supposed to entertain for the welfare of his comrades, whom he had left almost destitute, and exposed to every danger from the enemy, that he ordered a company of comedians to be raised, for the purpose of being sent to Egypt to entertain the army. The actors, dancers, and musicians, who were willing to go, were required to send their applications to the Commissary of the Government, at the theatre of the Republic, *Rue de la Loi.* Their pretensions were to be individually stated, their capacity authenticated by proofs; the conditions of engagement were to be offered, and proper security for the fulfilment of the terms to be tendered. That the people might be assured of his regard to the comforts of the army in every respect, Fouché was ordered to put in requisition the women of the town, at the *Palais Royal.* Near six hundred of these females were assembled, for the purpose of being sent to the army of the East with the comedians, a colony was to be formed, by which the

Egyptians were to be acquainted with the refinements and arts that civilization had extended to the French nation. Little did the Frenchmen in Paris, who witnessed these preparations, imagine that the army, was threatened with annihilation at the time the First Consul had confered the command on Kleber.

A Proclamation to the Army of the East acquainted them with his new rank in the state.

The Consul Buonparte to the Army of the East.

"Soldiers!

"The Consuls of the Republic often think on the army of the East.

"France knows all the influence of your conquest for the restoration of her commerce, and the civilization of the world.

"All Europe has her eyes fixed upon you. My thoughts are often with you.

"In whatever situation the chances of war may place you, be always the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible.

"Have in Kleber that unbounded confidence which you had in me; he deserves it.'

"Soldiers! think on the day when you will come back, victorious, to the Sacred Land; it will be a day of joy and of glory for the whole nation.

(Signed) "Buonaparte."

It was not difficult for the new Government to obtain popularity amongst a people who had been harassed and fatigued with the violence and the inconsistencies of ten governments, during a period of as many years. They had been delivered up to the cupidity and the cruelty of every scoundrel who could clamber into power, and whose venality and rapacity were increased by the knowledge that the reign of his own party would be terminated by a faction equally hungry and remorseless; by wretches, who were busied in turning the heads of the people, that they might lift themselves into place upon their shoulders. This multiplied succession of profligacy was stopped by the Revolution of the eighteenth Brumaire. The new arrangements were more masterly, men less obnoxious were nominated to situations of trust, and business was

dispatched with greater celerity. Obedience being enforced by the bayonet, the unruly were awed; and, as no one was permitted to rob in the name of the nation, the people respected the authority which rendered their property secure.

Finance had Buonaparté's early and earnest attention. He caused to be passed, in the Council of Five Hundred, some resolutions, by which the Receivers-general of the departments were authorized to subscribe bonds for the amount of the direct taxes of their respective departments, which should be payable by twelve monthly instalments: they were directed to furnish a twentieth part in specie of the amount of the land-tax, to be applied as a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt. The arrears of life annuities and ecclesiastical pensions, as they became extinguished, were to be applied to the same purpose, and to the payment of protested bonds.

When the public saw the national debts put in a course of extinction by adequate funds, the Government found it no very difficult task to borrow more money. Buonaparté appointed a meeting of the principal merchants and bankers of Paris, and laid before them the necessities of the Government, and the claims which it had on the confidence of the public, and hinted the probability of a glorious and equitable peace. He assured them, that the reign of plunder was ended, that spoliation of property could never occur under the new system of affairs, that talent only would rule, and intrigue would be abandoned; but, that, to accomplish these various laudable objects, the public treasury must have recourse to commercial men for an advance of money until the new taxes were paid. The meeting, which consisted of about seventy of the wealthiest men in Paris, voted, by acclamation, a loan of twelve millions of livres; and Fulchiron, Recamier, Doyen, Perregaux, Mullet, Germain, and Desser, were nominated a commission of seven, to put the plan into immediate consideration.

Talleyrand shortly resumed his situation at the head of the foreign affairs. Citizen Gronville was sent ambassador to Holland, Citizen Bourgoing to Denmark. General Bournonville was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Citizen Colchen, his secretary of legation; other arrangements were also made in the foreign department, preparatory to a new system of diplomacy.

THE END OF CHAP. XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

The new Constitution anticipated by the Politicians.... General Indifference of the People to its Form....Causes of their approving the new Government....Proclamation of the Consuls announcing the Constitution....Abstract of the Constitution....Roderer's Analysis of it....Palaces appointed for the Residence of the new Government....Costume....National Oath....Caricatures....Manners.

VARIOUS speculations occupied the attention of the Parisians, and of the French people in general, respecting the new Constitution that was in preparation; and the jealousy of the Republicans was not a little increased by the proceedings in the Council of Elders.

It was debated, whether the sittings of the two legislative commissions should be public or private. It was argued by some members, that if the nation received laws without having a knowledge of the discussions which preceded and prepared them, it would cease to think itself free; that if it saw no longer any image of the national representation, it would believe the national representation not to be adjourned but annihilated; that, if the discussions were not public, it was at least necessary there should be sittings open to all citizens, in order to proclaim publicly the laws passed in private sittings; that, in short, it was necessary to preserve as much of the ancient form as it was possible, to reconcile some of the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire to the public opinion. It was contended by others, that the two commissions of the Council of Elders and the Council of Five Hundred, in order to obtain the ends for which they were appointed, ought to labour with a rapidity, which the publicity of their proceedings would check every moment; that in public men spoke more frequently from

vanity than from a love of truth; that the publicity was never anything else than apparent, for it could only be taken advantage of by one commune, and only by a small number of persons in that commune, who were almost incapable of comprehending and appreciating the motives of the different opinions; that, seeing a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Two Hundred and Fifty, reduced to commissions of twenty-five members, the public would think they beheld not an image of national representation, but its destruction; that, in short, the only thing really important to the nation was, to do quietly, and to do well; and, on that account, that quiet and secret sittings were better than if the sittings were held in public, amidst noise, and subject to interruption. It was determined that the sittings of the commissions should be private, and the patriots received the decision as an ill omen to the liberties and independence of the country under the Consular Government.

Whilst a few abstruse thinkers presaged the reign of a new despotism, the change was heard of with joy in the remotest departments. The different authorities throughout the Republic declared in its favour, and the sentiments of the bulk of the people went with them: they saw that public offices were not saleable, that the delinquency of persons in situations of trust was punished by their removal; and they relied upon a Government that had effected some good, for effecting more. Those who had really experienced a benefit cared not by what means its consequences were to be secured, they appeared to think that they had contended long enough about forms of government; and, that, as their forms had produced only a variation of their oppression, "that which was best administered was best."

At length, on the 22nd Frimaire, (13th December,) the public curiosity was gratified by an extensive circulation of the following Address of

The Consuls of the Republic to the French.

"A Constitution is presented to you for your acceptance.

"It puts an end to the uncertainties which the temporary government occasioned in our foreign political transactions, and in the internal and military situation of the Republic.

"It establishes, in its institutions, the appointment of the first magistrates, whose devoted zeal has been thought necessary to its activity.

"*The Constitution is grounded on the true principles of a representative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty.*

"The powers which it institutes will be vigorous and permanent, such as they should be to ensure the rights of citizens, and the interests of the state.

"Citizens! THE REVOLUTION is fixed on the principles from which it originated:—IT IS ENDED."

The Constitution itself formed ninety-five articles, which were arranged in seven chapters. It was dated Paris, the 22nd Frimaire, and was signed by the members of the Legislative Committees: the signatures of the Consuls followed last. The following is an abstract of the most essential parts of

THE CONSULAR CONSTITUTION.

The French Republic is one and indivisible.

Every man born and resident in France, and of the age of twenty-one years, who has inscribed his name in the civic register of his communal district, and afterward remained a year on the territory of the French Republic, is a *French citizen;* and a foreigner becomes a French citizen, who, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and declared his intention of fixing his residence in France, has resided there for ten successive years.

The title of French citizens is forfeited by various acts, and also by a state of hired servitude, either attached to the service of the person or the family.

The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy

of conducting the public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage; from this first communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be taken.

The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall also appoint a tenth of their number; these shall constitute a second list, called The Departmental List, from which the public functionaries of each department shall be taken.

The citizens included in the Departmental List shall also appoint a tenth of their number; this third list shall consist of the citizens of each department eligible to public national functions.

The citizens who shall have a right of co-operating in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, shall, every third year, be called upon to exercise the power of replacing those who have died or absented themselves for any other cause than the exercise of a public function.

The CONSERVATORY SENATE shall be composed of twenty-four members, of forty years of age, at least, to be immoveable during life.

For the formation of the Senate there shall be nominated, in the first instance, sixty members; this number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the eighth year, to sixty-four in the ninth, and shall be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members in each of the ten first years.

The nomination to the office of senator shall be by the Senate, who shall make choice out of three candidates presented to them; the first by the Legislative Body, the second by the Tribunate, and the third by the Chief Consul.

They shall only chuse from two candidates, if one of them is proposed by two of the three authorities presenting them.

The Chief Consul, upon quitting his office, either by the expiration of his function or by resignation, necessarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a senator. The Two other Consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their seats in the Senate, but are not obliged to exercise that privilege: they lose it altogether if they quit the consular functions by resignation.

The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, shall be liable to the expenses of the Senate; the annual salary of each of its members shall be paid out of those revenues; it shall be equal to a twentieth of that of the Chief Consul.

The sittings of the Senate are not public.

Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the two Consuls who are to go out of office, shall be nominated members of the Conservatory Senate; they shall unite with the Second and Third Consuls nominated by the present one. These four citizens shall appoint the majority of the Senate, which shall afterward complete itself and proceed to the elections entrusted to its direction.

No new law shall be promulgated unless the plan shall have been proposed by the Government, communicated to the Tribunate, and decreed by the Legislative Body.

The TRIBUNATE is to be composed of one hundred members, of twenty-five years of age and upwards; they shall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list.

The Tribunate shall discuss the plans of every law that may be proposed; it shall vote for the adoption or rejection of them, and shall send three orators to the Legislative Body to state and support its plans. It shall express its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuses to be corrected, the ameliorations to be attempted in every part of the public administration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunals. The opinions it shall give are to be followed by no neces-

sary consequence; they compel no constituted authority to come to any deliberation.

The LEGISLATIVE BODY shall be composed of three hundred members, of thirty years of age and upwards; they shall be renewed, by fifths, every year. There ought always to be one citizen, at least, of each department of the Republic present. The sitting of the Legislative Body shall in every year continue only four months.

The Legislative Body enacts the law by secret scrutiny, and without any discussion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the Tribunate and the Government.

The sittings of the Tribunate and of the Legislative Body shall be public; the number of strangers in either of them not to exceed two hundred. The annual salary of a Tribune shall be 15,000 francs, £625. of a Legislator 10,000 francs, £416.

Every decree of the Legislative Body shall be promulgated by the Chief Consul, unless it is referred to the Senate on the ground of inconstitutionality.

The first renewal of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate shall not take place till the tenth year of the Republic.

The GOVERNMENT is entrusted to THREE CONSULS, appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible: each of them is to be elected individually, with the distinct quality of Chief, Second, or third Consul. The first time the Third Consul shall only be named for five years.

For the present time General BUONAPARTE is appointed CHIEF CONSUL; Citizen CAMBACERES, now Minister of Justice, *Second Consul;* and Citizen LEBRUNE, member of the Committee of Ancients, *Third Consul.*

The Chief Consul is to promulgate the law, to name and revoke at pleasure the members of the Council of State, the ministers, ambassadors, and other principal foreign agents; the officers of the army by land and sea; the members of local administration, and the commis-

sioners of the Government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges criminal and civil, as well as justices of peace, and the judges of cassation, without the power of afterward revoking them.

In the other acts of the Government the Second and Third Consuls are to have a *consultative* voice.

The salary of the Chief Consul shall be 500,000 francs for the eighth year: the salary of the other Two Consuls shall be equal to three-tenths of that of the First.

The Government is to propose the laws, and to make the necessary regulations to ensure their execution.

When the Government is informed of any conspiracies against the state, it may issue orders to arrest and bring before them the persons who are suspected as the authors or accomplices; but if, within ten days after such arrest, they are not set at liberty, or brought to trial, it shall be considered, on the part of the minister signing the order, as an act of arbitrary detention.

It is from among the members of the Council of State that the Orators are to be selected, who shall be appointed to appear in the name of the Government before the Legislative Body. There are never to be any more than three of these orators sent to support the same plan of a law.

The Government can only elect or retain as counsellers of state or ministers, such citizens whose names are inscribed in the national list.

The local administrations established, whether for each communal district or for the more extended portions of territory, are subordinate to the ministers.

Every communal arondissement shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by citizens, for three years. Their principal duty consists in reconciling the parties applying to them, and, in case of non-concilation, to decide their dispute by arbitrators.

In cases of crimes to which are annexed a corporal or infamous punishment, a first jury admits or rejects the charge: if it be admitted, a second jury pronounces on

the fact, and the judges composing a criminal tribunal apply the punishment: their judgment is without appeal.

The function of Public Accuser to a criminal tribunal is filled by the Commissioner of Government.

The agents of Government, other than the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts relating to their functions but by virtue of a decision of the Council of State; in this case the prosecution is carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum. During the night no person has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation, or at the request of the persons within. In the day one may enter it for a special purpose, determined either by the law or an order emanating from a public authority.

A representation of a person in custody shall not be refused to his parents and friends, carrying an order from the civil officer, who shall be always obliged to grant it, unless the keeper or gaoler produces an order of a judge to keep the prisoner secret.

Every person has a right of addressing private petitions to every constituted authority, and particularly to the Tribunate.

The public force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate.

The French Nation declares, that it will grant pensions to all the military wounded in defence of their country, and also to the widows and children of such military as have died on the field of battle, or in consequence of their wounds. It shall decree national rewards to the warriors who shall have rendered distinguished services in fighting for the Republic.

The French Nation declares, that in no case will it suffer the return of the French, who, having abandoned their country since 1789, are not comprised in the exceptions contained in the laws against emigrants: it interdicts every new exception on this point.

The property of emigrants, irrevocably, belongs to the Republic.

The French Nation declares, that after a sale, legally completed, of national property, whatever may be its origin, the lawful purchaser cannot be dispossessed, saving the right of third persons, if such there should be, claiming to be indemnified out of the public treasury.

The Constitution was published at Paris on the 14th of December, with great pomp; and a decree immediately followed, which ordained, that the different civil officers should open registers of acceptance and non-acceptance, to remain open fifteen days, for the signatures of the citizens.

Rœderer's Analysis of the Consular Constitution of France is deserving of preservation, because it is simple, and is easily committed to the memory. He estimates the male inhabitants of age, and paying duties as a qualification to vote, at 5,000,000 citizen voters, who reduce themselves to 500,000 Notables of Communes; who reduce themselves to 50,000 Notables of Departments; who reduce themselves to 5,000 Notables of France; from whom are chosen 500 Legislators, Senate and Tribunate; and also 80 Conservators; 2 Puisne Consuls; and 1 Grand Consul; who choose 30 Counsellors of State, and the ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, &c. The Senate and the Tribunate are not chosen *by* the five thousand Notables of France, but *out* of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of Conservators, choose, first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power; and, secondly, the Three Chiefs of the executive power (Consuls) the *first* of whom afterawrds chooses the ministers and other agents of the Government.

A great portion of time was occupied by the Legislative Bodies in settling the formalities which should present

the authorities under the new Constitution in great parade and splendor to the people. It was appointed that the Consuls and the Conservative Senate should enter upon their functions the 4th Nivose, 8th year (25th December, 1799.) The Consuls were to furnish the Conservative Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, with a guard of honour.—The Luxembourg was appointed the palace of the Conservative Senate; the Thuilleries the palace of the Consuls; the palace of the Council of Five Hundred was for the Legislative Body; and the *Palais Royale* was assigned to the Tribunate. Messengers of state and ushers were also attached to these different functionaries.

It was not enough, however, that palaces should be the dwellings of the new officers of the Republic: the pomp and circumstances of official dignity were still further encreased by the new dresses, which, after mature deliberations of the Commission of Five Hundred were decreed should be worn by the legislative as well as the executive; and even the secretaries, messengers, and ushers, were assigned their *costume*. Open robes and close habits of national blue, of light blue, of black, of grey—tri-coloured girdles, girdles of light blue, and girdles of red; some fringed with gold, some fringed with silk, some fringed with worsted, and some without any fringe;—collars and sleeves embroidered, some with gold and others with silver;—some hats with gold tassels, and other hats with silver tassels:—these were the materials which the legislative bodies of the French Republic selected, and which they sorted out, and fitted into uniforms and dresses by a senatorial decree, afterwards printed and distributed as a *programme*, by which the people were enabled to ascertain the rank and dignity of the new rulers of the Republic. The variation of climate in the seasons was also considered, for some were to wear velvet in winter, and silk in summer, whilst others were decreed to wear cloth all the year round.

Three days after the Constitution was issued the troops were assembled in the Champ de Mars, and sworn to be faithful to the new Government. The oath to be tendered to the magistrates and citizens became a subject of discussion, which ended by a law being passed applicable to all those who had been previously bound to take an oath, and which reduced the different formula of oaths and declarations to one only. The Constitution being considered the elementary rule of the duties of magistrates and citizens, the explicit promise of being faithful to the Constitution included the object of the former laws. It was then decreed by the new law, that the members and officers of the Government, the ministers of every religious sect, and the tutors of youth, should solemnly make the following declaration: "I promise to be faithful to the Constitution," and that every other oath or declaration should be abolished. If there exists a necessity for an oath under any government, supposed to be founded on the will of the people, that which was thus adopted by the Consular Government of France, is, perhaps, the most simple and the least exceptionable of any that can be taken for a model.

Accustomed to change, and delighted with novelty, the Parisians received the new Constitution, and viewed the splendor of the new Government with self-complacency rather than with surprise; they read, and talked, and drank their coffee, and laughed. They reasoned very little, but they hoped a great deal. Buonaparté was their idol, and they expected him to do everything for the happiness and honour of the nation. They joked upon the old Directory, and indulged their humour in bon-mots and in caricatures; a pair of these prints, very well executed, formed a part of the decorations of most parlours in Paris. One of them represented a Jew, with a great quantity of finery and frippery, the costume of the ex-directors, and ex-legislators; he was crying, "Old clothes to sell, as good as new:" the other, also represented a

Jew carrying an enormous load of constitutions and laws, and bawling, "Old constitutions and decrees to sell, very little used, and very cheap." Perhaps the author of the following bill, which was placarded in the night in the streets of Paris, was not quite so much disposed to serve the new Government.

"POLITICAL SUBSTRACTION.

From . . 5 . . Directors
Take . . 2,

and there remain . . 3 . . Consuls:
From them take . . 2,

and there remains . . 1 . . BUONAPARTE!"

This political *badinage* suited the taste, the leisure, the playfulness of mind, of the Parisians. It is in Paris, says an acute Frenchman, that the French should be studied, because they are more French there than elsewhere. Yielding, alternatively and capriciously, to dissipation, ambition, or what they call philosophy; that is, to moodiness and misanthropy; borne away by pleasure; tormented now by things of moment, and now by fanciful frivolities, their ideas are unconnected and contradictory, yet successively appear of equal evidence.

At Paris men feel more than they think, act more than they plan, and plan more than they determine: they esteem only talents and the arts of taste; they scarcely have an idea of the necessary arts, which they enjoy without understanding.

In Paris a certain general indifference prevails, which multiplies acquaintance rather than friends, and by which no man is an intruder in society, nor is any one necessary to it; all are welcome, no one is wanted. The extreme dissipation in which they live is the cause that no man is enough interested for another to be either difficult in choice or constant in connexion.

Men seek each other little, meet with pleasure, give a welcome of vivacity, not of warmth, and part without regret, and without remembering that they have parted.

Manners at Paris effect that which the spirit of the government produces at London; in society they confound and equalize ranks which are distinct and subordinate in the state. All orders live in familiarity in London, because the citizens are all in need of each other; they are brought together by the common interest.

The same effect is produced in Paris by pleasure; every man is welcome who can please: but there is this difference: equality is good when it results from a principle of government; but the very reverse when it results from manners, for it is then only the corruption of manners.

The great defect of the French is, to be always young in character; hence they are often amiable, but seldom sure. They scarcely know an age of maturity, but pass from youth to decline. Their talents of every kind appear early; they long lie neglected from dissipation; and they are scarcely brought into use before their powers are lost. Few among them enjoy the support of experience.

May not this digression on the manners of the French be excused? If we find it necessary to form a judgment respecting an individual, we ask what sort of a man he is? what is his temper? what is his conduct? Do we desire to know what changes and circumstances are most likely to be useful or agreeable to a nation?—ought we not to inquire concerning the disposition of the people? If the proper questions were put by an individual well read in the human heart, the statistics of national character would no longer be a desideratum of knowledge.

THE END OF CHAP. XXI.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Second Consul, Cambaceres....The Third Consul, Lebrun....Proceedings on decreeing a National Recompense to the Abbe Sieyes....Letter of Sieyes, announcing his Acceptance of one of the National Domains....Memoirs of Sieyes....Roger Ducos.

CAMBACERES was minister of justice at the time the new Constitution appointed him Second Consul. Neither of the other Consuls had been members of the National Convention; Cambaceres was the only one out of the Three, who had voted on the trial of the King. He declared his opinion that the King should be confined, but not executed, unless the Republican territory were invaded by a foreign enemy. He was a man of more suavity of manners than vigour of intellect.

LE BRUN, the Third Consul, possessed considerable talents, and was one of the members of the Committee of Ancients. He had formerly been Secretary to the Chancellor Maupeon, the most arbitrary and tyrannical of the ministers of Louis XV. He had the reputation of uniting application to ability.

Before Cambaceres and Le Brun were appointed Consuls under Buonaparté, SIEYES had been prevailed on to decline the Consulate; this was not difficult to effect; for he saw that he was completely in the power of Buonaparté, because Buonaparté was the man who possessed the most influence with the people. The retirement of Sieyes is a memorable event in the History of France since the Revolution, because he had retained a very great share of power over the executive Government at most periods since its commencement, and he now suddenly lost it altogether.

On the 20th of December a message was read to the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred, stating, that the Consuls joined in a wish, unanimously manifested by the two Legislative Committees, that it should decree to CITIZEN SIEYES a distinguished proof of national gratitude. "The Citizen," says the message, "who, after having enlightened the people by his writings, and honoured the Revolution by his disinterested virtues, refused, in the first instance, the First Magistracy, and then only consented to accept, in consequence of his sense of the dangers by which it was surrounded, is assuredly worthy of the distinction which it is your desire should be conferred upon him, and which it will be impossible for him to refuse, when the organs of the law, shall have declared the decision of the Legislature. The Consuls of the Republic," it continues "for the purpose of carrying your wish into effect; and in conformity to the law of the 19th Brumaire, submit to you the necessary and formal proposition of decreeing to Citizen Sieyes, as a pledge of national gratitude, the right of property to one of the demains at the disposal of the state."

This message, signed by Buonaparté, and Roger Ducos, having been read, was referred to the Section of Finance, who, in their Report thereon, addressed the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred to this effect:

"It would, undoubtedly, have been ineffectual Citizen Representatives, for the glory of Citizen Sieyes to have enlightened the people by his writings, to have done honour to the Revolution by his disinterested virtues, and to have submitted himself to the heavy burden imposed upon him by the office of First Magistrate, at a moment only when the greatness of the dangers rendered it worthy of his most anxious solicitude to preserve the French name from oblivion and disgrace.

"It is, without doubt, sufficient for Citizen Sieyes that he has succeeded, by the activity of his mind, in reconstructing the social edifice, in leaving it surrounded by

the esteem of the people, his cotemporaries; and, also, in having for the object of his customary meditations the happiness of successive generations.

" But, Citizen Representatives, if nothing be wanting to complete the moral destiny of Citizen Sieyes, is it not incumbent upon us to signalize, by a striking proof, the labours of that excellent Citizen? Is not the gratitude of the nation an institution which preserves social mechanism?

" When, after centuries of ignorance and despotism, an useful discovery, a happy conception, an extraordinary man, a comforter of the human race, is seen to rise; is it not the duty of those, who, in such a situation, find themselves invested with public authority, and in whom the hopes of the nation are concentrated, to consecrate by a national mark, and one which may address itself to every feeling, the memory of the phenomenon which must ameliorate the condition of mankind?

" It is, therefore, Citizen Representatives, in the nature of an appendix, inseparable from the political institution, that you do pass a law imposing on Citizen Sieyes the necessity of accepting a special proof of national gratitude, of which the actual government must declare itself the interpreter.

" In pursuance of these commissions, your Secretary of Finance proposes to you the following project of a Resolution:"

The Commission, taking into consideration the urgency with respect to the stability of every political institution, of confering a signal mark of gratitude on those citizens who had rendered great services to the country, adopted the following

RESOLUTION:

" The *National Domain* of Crosne, in the department of the Seine and Oire, or some other, altogether equivalent to it, is decreed, with the right of property full and entirely, to Citizen Sieyes, by the title of " *National Recompense.*"

Crosne, the estate thus proposed to be given to Sieyes, is delightfully situated about four leagues from Paris, in a beautiful valley, near Villeneuve St. George's; and a part of its woods adjoin Gros-Bois, the seat of the ex-director Barras. On another side Crosne is bounded by the forest of Semart, celebrated for the laborious hermits, whose dwellings are there, and for its being the hunting place of the ancient sovereigns of France. It became national property by the failure of the treasurer of war, Serilly, who bought it for a million of livres, and who owed vast sums to the nation.

The Committee of the Council of Five Hundred immediately passed the Resolution which conferred Crosne upon Sieyes, as a national Recompense; but which he could not take possession of until the death of the ci-divant Marquis and Marchioness de Brancas, who had a life interest in it.

Sieyes signified his acceptance of the Estate by the following

LETTER TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

"CITIZENS REPRESENTATIVES,

"THE Minister of Justice has just transmitted to me the law, decreeing to me a national reward:

"Permit me to express, how deeply I am penetrated with gratitude to you for so honourable a mark of your esteem."

(Health and respect) "SIEYES."

Few men who were engaged in the Revolution had more entirely devoted themselves to politics than Sieyes; and he is one of the many instances of individuals who have risen by talents and superior genius to considerable rank as statemen.

SIEYES was born at Frejus in the year 1748, the town where Buonaparté landed on his return from Egypt. Educated for the priesthood he took orders, and became a cure. He was preferred to be a vicar-general, and then a canon: afterwards he rose to the chancellorship of the

church of Chartres; and was, at length, invested with the permanent administrative employment of counsellor commissary in Paris. To this he was nominated by the diocese of Chartres: it was never given but to the superior clergy of France. He was esteemed a learned civilian and canonist, and possessed a considerable share of knowledge in the belles-lettres; his favourite studies, however, were politics, metaphysics, and economics. He spent the greatest part of his time in Paris, where he associated with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other literati. He was a member of the Economical Society, which held its sittings in the hotel of the Chancellor Seguier.

Notwithstanding his excellent qualifications and connexions, it is probable that Sieyes would not have emerged from obscurity if the Revolution had not brought him into a situation to display his talents. Being appointed a deputy to the States General, he began his career by the publication entitled, "What is the Tiers Etât?" This work became, at the time, the most fashionable book in Paris.

After the meeting of the *Tiers Etât* at Versailles, he was the person who proposed that they should call themselves "The Assembly of the Representatives of the French People;" and he supported his project with considerable ability.

When the misunderstanding between the orders in the States General assumed a serious aspect, and great numbers of troops were drawn about the Capital, the deputies in the popular interest had reason to be apprehensive for their safety. Sieyes, in the sitting of the 8th of July, stated to the Assembly, that no troops should be allowed to approach nearer than ten leagues to the place in which the States General were sitting; and he proposed an address to the King, desiring that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Versailles.

Sometime previously to the month of October, when the King was attacked in his palace by the mob, a secret committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbe Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They had agreed upon a scheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in so distinguished a situation in the government, that he could not fail to have the command of the populace, and, consequently, possess a decisive weight in the National Assembly, SIEYES was then a zealous Royalist.

In the year 1791, when it was thought that the King, by attempting his escape, had abdicated the crown, a combination was formed, consisting of Condorcet and Brissot in France, and of Paine in England, for the publication of a periodical paper under the title of "The Republican." Sieyes actually published some answers to papers which appeared in this publication, and declared his intentions to support a monarchy against a republic by every means in his power.

"It is said by many," observes Sieyes, in one of his publications, that I am taking advantage of our present situation to embrace Republicanism. Hitherto no one has ever thought of accusing me of too much flexibility in my principles, or of changing my opinion easily, to suit the fashion of the times.

"Honest men, to whom alone I can address myself, have but three ways of judging of the sentiments of any person; by his actions, his words, and his writings. I offer these three kinds of proof.

"It is not to flatter ancient customs, nor through any superstitious regard to royalty, that I prefer Monarchy.—I prefer it, because it is clear to me that the citizen enjoys more liberty under a Monarchy than under a Republic; every other motive of preference appears peurile to me. The best social system, in my opinion, is that by which not one, or only a few, but ALL, tranquilly enjoy the

greatest possible latitude of liberty: if I discern this character in the monarchical state, it is clear that I ought to prefer it above all others; and I hope to prove, not that Monarchy is preferable in any particular circumstances, but that, in every case, men are more free under it than in a Republic."

These observations were remarked upon by Paine; who, in a Letter to Sieyes, which appeared in "The Morning Post," pledged himself to demonstrate, within a certain number of pages of "The Republican," the converse of the proposition that the Abbe maintained; and also to prove, that a Republic was, of all other forms, the best suited to promote the welfare of the people.

Sieyes was the author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which was decreed by the National Assembly. It was written in his usual metaphysical manner, and excited very different sensations in every country of Europe. In 1792 Sieyes was appointed a member of the National Convention. When the Convention voted the punishment of Louis, such was the influence of Sieyes, that a great number of members reserved themselves till they had heard his opinion. It was, consequently, understood, upon that opinion would depend the fate of the King.—Sieyes, at length, mounted the tribune; an awful silence pervaded the anxious Assembly! he, however, interrupted the solemn pause with only five words: *Je suis pour la mort!* "I am for death!" and instantly withdrew.

From this time he was so far concealed from the public eye that it was not known whether he was dead or alive. It was said, by the Parisians, that he directed, from his philosophical retreat, many of the atrocities which were committed under the reign of Robespierre, but of this there appears no proof whatever. From the death of this tyrant till February 1795, he still remained behind the curtain, and did not appear upon the stage until he was certain there was no danger of the Mountain regain-

ing their ascendancy. In order to make his apology for having thus absented himself from business during two years, he published Memoirs of his own Life, the substance of which publication was to lament that the Mountain party had abused his definitions of the Rights of Man; and to state that his system had been intended only as the skeleton of civil society.

From this period began the most brilliant career of Sieyes's public life. Having obtained the esteem and confidence of his colleagues, he was fixed upon to regulate the external relations of the Republic. He it was who suggested the scheme of concluding separate treaties with the coalesced powers, with the view to create such a misunderstanding as would prove fatal to the royal confederacy. The subsequent conduct of the European cabinets appeared for a time to evince that Sieyes was right in his conjectures, and proved, that a vicar of Chartres had outwitted all the experienced statesmen in Europe.

The plans of Sieyes for the aggrandizement of the French Republic were developed in April 1795. He advised his colleagues to retain the Austrian Netherlands, and was the first projector of the alliance with Holland: he went himself to the Hague, as French plenipotentiary, for the purpose of concluding that famous treaty. Those who did not comprehend the designs of Sieyes highly disapproved of a treaty with a petty power, not geographically united to France, and whose democratic constitution had not been acknowledged by the King of Prussia, brother-in-law to the *ci-devant* Stadtholder. Even the greater part of his colleagues, in the Committee of Public Safety, were of opinion that the Netherlands should be restored to Austria; and as late as the month of August in that year, Boissy d'Anglois gave his opinion in the Committee, that the Emperor would rather endanger his crown than relinquish those important possessions.

France, however, kept them, and if the Emperor did endanger his crown France was no loser by it.

So signal were the services thus performed by Sieyes to his country, that, at the time of the adoption of the new Constitution, he was elected one of the Five members of the Executive Directory, which he, however, declined. In February 1796 he was appointed a member of the National Institute, in the class of metaphysics and morals; and, by what has been called an unaccountable singularity of choice, the very same man who had declined a place in the Executive Directory of the Republic accepted of a chair of literature in the central school at the College de Mazarine!

It was said, in May 1796, that Sieyes was the author of the peace between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia; which is highly probable, because he continued to direct the external policy of the Directory nearly in the same manner as he formerly directed that of the Committee of Public Safety. A treaty so disgraceful to an independent sovereign could scarcely have been wished for, even by the most inveterate Republican.

In the spring of 1797 he very narrowly escaped assassination, with a pistol, by the Abbe Poulle. During the latter part of that year he was abused by such a number of lampoons and Pasquinades, that he was obliged to quit Paris upon the entrance of the new Third into the Legislature, and did not dare to come out of his retreat till the violent crisis of the 4th of September, he then became one of the most active members of the Legislature. After this he was appointed ambassador to the court of Berlin, where he rendered essential service to the Republic, by his successful exertions to preserve the friendship of the King of Prussia, which remained indissoluble during a most momentous contest. It has been supposed, and with tolerable confidence, that the King of Prussia was not unacquainted with the projects of Sieyes in regard to

the late revolution in France: it is certain that a very extraordinary and marked respect was paid to this ambassador during the time of his residence in Prussia. During his mission at Berlin the anniversary of the King's birth-day occurred: Sieyes went to court; and, when he arrived, the other ambassadors, who were there early, had taken their places. The chamberlain of state was much embarrassed, not knowing where to place the French envoy without interrupting the diplomatic coterie. Sieyes immediately said, " *N'importe*—the *first place* will always be that which is occupied by the ambassador of the French Republic;" and he took, with much good humour, the earliest vacancy that presented itself. When he returned to France, the King not only attended him in person to the frontiers of his territory, but presented him with his portrait, set in gold, and richly ornamented with diamonds.

On Sieyes arriving in France from Prussia, he was elected one of the Directory, where his influence was unbounded; and he gave accelerated motion to the wheels of government. Thus situated, he found little difficulty in obtaining means, in conjunction with Buonaparté, to effect the late revolution. He had sufficient influence not only in the Directory but in the Councils to carry almost any measure he chose. This influence he turned to the accomplishment of his designs, without, at that time, being suspected of any intentions inimical to the constitution, which we now see it was his fixed determination to to destroy.

Sieyes does not at any time appear to have possessed the affections of the French people. Never humouring their follies, and reserved and ambitious, they always viewed him with jealousy; the assistance of a man possessed of Buonaparté's popularity seemed absolutely necessary to the success of his projects.

The Consular, as well as each preceding constitution

was ascribed to Sieyes. He certainly contributed much towards it; and his experience in this department of political science is celebrated by Edmund Burke, in language which that luminous writer did not intend should be taken for praise. "Abbe Sieyes" observes he, "has whole nests of pigeon-holes full of constitutions ready made, ticketed, sorted, and numbered, suited to every season and every fancy; some with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and some with the bottom at the top; some plain, some flowered; some distinguished for their simplicity, others for their complexity; some of blood-colour; some of *bone de Paris;* some with directories, others without a direction; some with councils of elders, and councils of youngers; some without any council at all: some where the electors choose the representatives, others where the representatives choose the electors; some in long coats, and some in short cloaks; some with pantaloons; some with breeches; some with five shilling qualifications; some totally unqualified! So that no constitution fancier may go unsuited from this shop, &c."

The meed of patriotism has been ascribed to Sieyes, for having sacrificed his power to the security and tranquillity of the French nation. It is, however, the general opinion, that he had disclosed his views to Buonaparté too far to retreat; that he did not discover his error till it was too late; that he afterwards repented giving Buonaparté his assistance to his own ultimate exclusion from the government; and that his acceptance of the estate of Crosne was merely because he was not in a condition to make any better terms with Buonaparté. Never was man more belied than Sieyes if by his elevation of Buonaparté he did not unintentionally commit political suicide.

The Conservative Senate afterwards chose Sieyes their President; but his career as a statesman had ended. He, at length, became a simple senator.

The ex-director and ex-consul, Roger Ducos, had served in conjunction with Sieyes; and, at his instigation, assisted the advancement of Buonaparté; he was only of consequence to them from his official situation. He was unknown nearly by name until he had been appointed a director; and, although esteemed an honest man, he displayed very little judgment or ability in his official situation. Buonaparté assigned him a seat in one of the Councils, where he was afterwards chosen president.

THE END OF CHAP. XXII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Important Proceeding of the Consular Government...Various interesting Proclamations to the Armies, &c.

POWER has been said to have an unknown, an occult quality, which depraves and secretly operates a change in the purest intentions of the mind, but power is merely the being at liberty to act in the way most agreeable to the disposition; and hence, a man who attains power is free to act well or ill, according as he chooses of good or of evil. If, then, any persons who in striving for power, make professions of purity, and, when they have attained their object, become politically profligate, it is not the possession of power that has changed their disposition, it is the disposition shewing itself for the first time after it could be indulged in safety, and without the fear of controul.

The annals of history, and, unfortunately, the history of our own times, abound with instances of men protesting, in the face of all the world, against the wanton abuse of power and of influence, and, afterwards, on attaining power, instead of exercising it for the public good, shamelessly prostituting themselves, and sacrificing their honest supporters to base and corrupt purposes. With some of the professions of Buonaparté we are acquainted; we also partly know with what view some of them were made, and how they were kept; and now, on his having attained sovereign power, we shall have to observe his other professions, and to examine if his conduct be consistent.

A Decree of the Consuls on the 3rd Nivose (24th December) arranged the Council of State. It was a gene-

ral assembly, composed of from thirty to forty members; the first Consul was President, and in his absence one of the two other Consuls. The ministers were allowed to assist at its sittings, but not to vote. The Counsellors of State were divided into five sections. 1. Finance. 2. Civil and Criminal Legislation. 3. War. 4. Marine. 5. The Interior. The different laws proposed by the ministers were to originate in the sections; and when a law had been drawn up in proper form the Consuls were to be informed of it, and the First Consul was to convoke the General Assembly of the Council of State, where the project of the law was to be discussed, and the opinion of the sitting thereon was to be transmitted to the Consuls. If the Consuls approved the law, it was to be referred by them to the Legislative Body, by one or more orators chosen by the Consuls. The Council of State were likewise empowered to decide on differences arising between the Administration and the Tribunals, and to explain the meaning of the laws on questions proposed by the Consuls. Each of the Counsellors of State was entitled to a salary of 25,000 livres. General Brune was appointed President of the Section of War; Admiral Gantheaume President of the Marine; Defermont, President of the Finances; Boulay President of Justice; Roederer President of the Section of the Interior; Citizen Chaptal received the appointment of Minister of Public Instruction; Citizen Dufresne Minister of the Treasury; Citizen Regnier Minister of the National Domains; Citizen Localies had the superintendance of the Colonies; and Citizen Cretet was charged with the administration of the Public Works; Lucien Buonaparté was appointed Minister of the Interior; and Abrial Minister of Justice; those of the other departments were re-appointed.

An immense concourse of citizens attended the installation of the Consuls, which was performed on the 4th Nivose, with great pomp. The Council of State held

their first sitting, and the First Consul presided, accompanied by the other Consuls and the Ministers of the Government, who presented their different reports. In the evening the following Proclamation was dispersed in great quantities throughout all the Departments.

" LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

" IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

" The 4th Nivose, (25th of December, 1799,) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.'

" *BUONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to the FRENCH*

" To render the Republic dear to the citizens, respectable to foreigners, and formidable to the enemy, such are the duties which we have contracted by accepting the First Magistracy.

" The citizens will always cherish the Republic, if the laws and the acts of authority are constantly distinguished by order, by justice, and by moderation.

" Without order administration is but confusion; no revenue, no public credit, the resources of the state and private fortunes are lost.

" Without justice, there are nothing but factions, tyrants, and victims.

" Moderation stamps an august character upon governments and nations. It is always strong, and insures permanency to social institutions.

" The Republic will be respected by foreigners if she respects their independence as well as her own; if her engagements, prepared by wisdom, and contracted with sincerity, are faithfully fulfilled.

" She will be formidable to the enemy, if her armies and her fleets are well disciplined and well commanded; if every soldier and every sailor lives always as happy as in the bosom of his own family, with a constant succession of virtues and of glory; if every officer, instructed by a long application, is regularly promoted, as a reward for his talents and his services.

" On such principles depend the stability of government, the success of commerce and of agriulture; the greatness and prosperity of nations.

" According to such principles we shall be judged.

" Frenchmen; we have told you our duties, it will be for you to tell us whether we have fulfilled them.

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE.

" By the First Consul's command,

" BERNARD HUGUES MARET, Secretary of State."

But, whilst he thus addressed "the French people," Buonaparté knew the means which were essential to their unanimity. He knew, that, amidst factions, the power that would cement the people was force, and not opinion; he knew that he appealed to the people against every conviction, but what arms imposed upon them, and that upon the "French *army*" depended the stability of the Government. The arming of the citizens had long been abandoned; for, although some were permitted to form themselves into armed bands, yet they were so few, when compared with the numbers which rushed forward, at the commencement of the Revolution, against the common enemy, that, had they opposed any measure of the Government, a few regiments could have cut them to pieces. The people had been disarmed because every faction found itself at the head of an army, every disgust excited commotion, and every commotion became a civil war.

The soldiery, who had been of the people, and formerly mingled with the people, were now separated from them, and their entire dependence and attachment to the Executive Government were by no means auspicious to liberty; for though, by circumstances and situation, they might even be entitled to a share of any freedom the people possessed, yet, the people had no security that the army would not assist in the execution of measures that might enslave their kindred and their country. The army of Cesar destroyed the Roman republic, and the army of Cromwell dissolved the sittings of the representatives of the people of England; and though the French soldiers had fought for the independence of their country, the people were neither sure that they would not turn their arms against their fellow citizens, at the instigation of an aspiring Chief, nor that a military tyranny would not be established upon the ruins of former despotisms.

Aware that the consolidation of power could not be effected amidst the struggle of factions, Buonaparté courted the applause of the army and the good-will of

the generals. Various promotions secured him the approbation of his officers, and largesses and rewards, and the following Proclamation, profusely distributed through the ranks, flattered the vanity and excited the emulation of the private men:

" *Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the French Soldiers.*

" Soldiers!

" When I promised peace to the French nation, I spoke your sentiments; I knew your courage: you are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, and Italy, and who commanded peace before the walls of terrified Vienna.

" Soldiers! you must not defend your frontiers now; you must invade the territories of your enemy.

" There is not one among you who has not made several campaigns, who is not convinced that the first quality of a soldier is that of putting up with inconveniencies without regret.

" Several years of a bad administration cannot be effaced in a day.

" First Magistrate of the Republic, it will be highly gratifying to me in letting the whole nation know which are the troops entitled by their discipline and their courage, to be proclaimed the defenders of the country.

" Soldiers! in due time I will be among you; and Europe shall remember that you belong to a race of heroes.

(Signed) " Buonaparte."

Paris, 25th Dec. 8th Year.

Massena, who had been appointed to the command of the army of Italy, was introduced to his comrades by a message of the First Consul; a recommendation flattering to the new commandant, because it was well received by the soldiers. Buonaparté had fought with them, and conquered with them; they owed their victories to his valour and his genius, and they hailed with respect, and cheered with enthusiasm the following

PROCLAMATION.

" *Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the Army of Italy.*

" Soldiers!

" The circumstances which keep me at the head of government hinder me from being among you.

" Your wants are great: every measure is taken to assist you.

" The first qualities of a soldier are constancy and discipline: courage comes next.

" Soldiers! several corps have deserted their posts; they have been deaf to the voice of their officers. The 17th light demi-brigade is among the number.

" Are then the heroes of Castiglione, of Rivoli, and of Newmarck all dead! they would have perished rather than desert their banners; and they would have prevailed on their young comrades to remain faithful to their honour and to their duty.

" Soldiers! you say that you are often deprived of your allowance: what would you have done, if, like the light 4th and 22nd, and the 18th and 32nd demi-brigades of the line, who had found yourselves in the midst of a desart, without bread or water, eating horse's and mule's flesh? *Victory will give us bread*, they said; and you! you desert your banners!

" Soldiers of the army of Italy, a new General (Massena) commands you; he was always the foremost in your most glorious days. Rely on him; he will soon again render you victorious.

" I shall order that a daily report be made to me about the conduct of all the corps, and chiefly of the light 17th and of the 63rd of the line demi-brigades. They will recollect my former confidence in them.

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

" The general, commander in chief of the army of Italy, shall direct that the above Proclamation of the First Consul of the Republic be mentioned and inserted in the general orders, and read to every company.

" ALEX. BERTHIER, Minister of War."

An elegant sabre which had been intended as a present to the Grand Seignior, until the expedition to Egypt had rendered French presents unacceptable to the Porte, was sent to General St. Cyr, by the order of Buonaparté.

" IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

" 5th Nivose, (26th of Dec.) 8th Year of the Republic.

" *BUONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to the General of Division, ST. CYR.*

" THE Minister of War has informed me, Citizen General, of the victory which you have obtained over the left wing of the Austrian army.

" Receive, as a mark of my satisfaction, a beautiful sabre, which you will wield when you fight our enemies.

" Let the soldiers under your command know that I am satisfied with their conduct, and that I hope to be so much more still.

" The Minister of War sends to you the commisson of first lieutenant of the army.

" Rely on my esteem and on my friendship.

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

St. Domingo, that important colony, wherein insurrection had reared itself in various forms, demanded the regard of the new Government; and the inhabitants attached to the French interest were, unexpectedly, gratified by a conciliatory

ADDRESS.

" *The Consuls of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC *to the Citizens of* ST. DOMINGO.

" CITIZENS!

" A CONSTITUTION which could not support itself against multiplied violations, is replaced by a new compact, destined to confirm liberty.

" The 91st article imports that the French Colonies shall be governed by their existing laws.

" This disposition results from the nature of things, and the difference of climate.

" The difference of habits, manners, and interests of soil, culture and productions, requires particular modifications.

" One of the first acts of the new Legislature shall be simplifying the laws destined to govern you.

" Far from their being a subject of alarm to you, you will perceive in them the wisdom and profound knowledge which animate the Legislators of France.

" The Consuls of the Republic, in informing you of the new Constitution, declare to you, that the sacred principles of liberty and equality of the Blacks, shall never suffer the smallest alteration.

" If, in the colony of St. Domingo, there be still disaffected men, who correspond with our enemies; brave Blacks! remember that only the French people acknowledge your liberty and the equality of your rights.

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

General Augereau received the command of the army of Holland, which was announced to him by a public act of the First Consul.

" *Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to* General *Augereau, Commander in Chief of the French Army in Holland.*

" Paris, the 8th Nivose, 8th Year (29th Dec. 1799.)

" I have promoted you, Citizen General, to the important station of Commander in Chief of the French army in Holland.

" In every act which such a command may require of you, always shew yourself above all those pitiful debates, which unfortunately, for these ten years, have been the cause of the internal dissentions in France.

" The glory of the Republic is due to the blood of our comrades: we do not belong to any faction, but to the whole nation.

" Should circumstances compel me to put myself at the head of an army, you may rest assured that I will not leave you in Holland, for I shall never forget the brilliant action at Castiglione.

" I salute you.

(Signed) " Buonaparte."

A most important Proclamation also preceded the march of a large military force into the Western Departments:

PROCLAMATION.

Liberty! Equality!

" 7th Nivose, (December 28th) eighth Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible

" *The* Consuls *of the* Republic *to the Inhabitants of the* Western Departments.

" An impious war threatens again with desolation the Western Departments: it is the duty of the first magistrates of the Republic to stop its progress, and to destroy its very cause. But they will not employ compulsion, before the means of persuasion and of justice be exhausted.

" The authors of those commotions are the senseless tools of two men, who have neither honoured their rank by virtues nor their misfortunes by achievements. They are despised by foreign courts, whose hatred they have kindled without succeeding to engage them fairly in their behalf.

" Those tools are traitors paid by England, and subservient to its rage; or merely robbers, who are eager to avail themselves of political dissentions in order to ensure plunder and impunity to their crimes.

" To such men government will not make any declaration of principles, nor shew any kind of indulgence.

" But there are Citizens, dear to the country, who have been misled, and to whom it is but juctice to explain the true principles of the present Government.

" Unjust laws have been enacted and enforced; arbitrary acts have alarmed the safety of citizens, and the freedom of religious opinions. Many persons throughout France, have been inscribed on the fatal lists of Emigrants, although they had never abandoned their country, nor even their houses. In short, the chief principles of social order have been violated.

" With a view to atone for those violations and those errors, the French nation has proclaimed and acknowledged a government grounded on the sacred principles of liberty, of equality, and of the representative system.

" The constant wish, as well as the interest and the glory of the First Magistrates, whom the people have instituted, will tend to heal up all the wounds of the revolution. And such a wish has been already known by all those who have paid any attention to their first acts.

" Thus the disastrous law of the forced loan, the still more disastrous law of hostages, have been repealed. Several persons, transported without trial or judgment, have been restored to their families. Every day is, and will be, marked by acts of justice. And the Council of State is constantly employed to devise the repeal of bad laws, and a better mode of taxation.

" The Consuls declare further, that the liberty of public worship is established by the Constitution; that no magistrate can interrupt it; that no man can tell to another,—*Thou shalt not worship so, and but on such a day.*

" The law of the 11th Prairial, third year, (May 31, 1795,) which allows the meetings in the churches, shall be enforced.

" Every department must be equally governed by the general laws; but the First Magistrates will always allow a more considerable share of encouragement to agriculture, to manufactures and commerce, to those departments where the civil war has raged.

" Government will pardon those who will repent; its indulgence will have no bounds. But whoever, after this Declaration, will still dare to resist the national sovereignty, shall find no mercy.

" Frenchmen! inhabitants of the Western departments, stand by a constitution which trusts to the magistrates it has instituted, the means and the duty to protect the citizens, who can also abide by justice and constant laws.

" Let those who have at heart the glory of France seperate them-

selves from such men as would still endeavour to mislead them, in order to reduce them under a tyrannical yoke or a foreign despotism.

" Let the peaceful country people enter their homes again, and re-assume their useful labours; they must not listen to the insinuations of those who would wish to see them again under the fœudal slavery.

" If, in spite of all measures adopted by Government, some men could still be found daring enough to provoke the civil war, the First Magistrates would then be sadly compelled to force them to submission.

" But such will not be the case. Every man will only feel the love of his country. The ministers of a God of Peace will be the first to advise and bring about a reconciliation. Let them be the teachers of those precepts which they learnt from their Divine Master. Let them go into those churches which are again opened for them, offer, with their fellow citizens, those prayers which will atone for the crimes of the war, and for the blood it has spilt.

(Signed) "The First Consul, BUONAPARTE.

" By the First Consul's commands

" The Secretary of State, HUGUES BERNARD MARET.

" The Minister of Justice, ABRIAL."

These, and various other official declarations and addresses of the Government, were received by the people with complacency. They saw the Chief Consul armed with more than sufficient power to enforce the obedience of his Decrees, and, whilst his acts were tempered by justice, and promised security to the peaceable citizens, no one had any right or inclination to complain that the refractory were threatened and punished.

Buonaparté, while conciliating the disposition of the French people, received from the Burgomasters of Hamburgh a submissive appeal on the unfortunate arrest of Napper Tandy, and his comrades in that city. They deprecated the displeasure of the new Government, and hoped that the Consuls would exculpate them from the charges of insult to the French nation, and relieve the inhabitants from the apprehensions of severity which were entertained from the violent denunciations of the Directory; the answer of Buonaparté was as concise, as the letter of the Hamburghers was verbose:

" Your letter Gentlemen," said he, " is no justification of your conduct.'

" It is by courage and virtue that states are preserved; cowardice and vice prove their ruin.

" You have violated the laws of hospitality; such a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian hordes of the desart. Your fellow citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

" The two unfortunate men whom you have given up will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of greater evils to their persecutors, than could be brought upon them by a whole army."

The hopes of the Hamburghers were abated by the firmness of the Chief Consul; and, as they could not escape the vengeance of the Republic, they awaited it in sadness and in silence.

THE END OF CHAP. XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

State of the Catholic Church in France during the Revolution....Hopes of the Religious on the Appointment of the Consuls....Struggles of the spiritual Factions for Ascendancy....Catholic Question....Anecdote of an English Law Lord....Treatment of Pope Pius VI....Government of Rome.

AT the time the Consular Constitution was adopted, there were in the different departments of the Republic from thirty-five to forty thousand churches wherein divine service had been regularly performed. It is a gross error to suppose that the Christian Religion was at any time extinguished in France.

The last general assembly of the clergy of France, held in 1789, presented facts which announced that the necessity of reforming abuses was felt, and that the epoch when a reform would take place was foreseen. In this assembly several bishops spoke with much force on the subject.

The disastrous state of the finances, occasioned a deficit which it was necessary to make good. The enormous estates of the clergy excited the envy of the people, and every eye regarded it as a mean to be employed in the liquidation of the national debt.

In the *Moniteur*, and other journals of the time, may be seen what successive steps gradually led to the abolition of tythes, and the decision which placed the estates of the clergy at the disposal of the nation.

The civil constitution of the clergy was a severe check given to many abuses. It seemed to restore to the Gallican Church the discipline of the first ages. It snatched from the Pope the power of giving the canonical institution to bishops; and those who taxed with novelty this constitu-

tion, were referred to history for proofs, that, during twelve hundred years, bishops received the canonical institution from the metropolitans and not from the Pope; that to tax with intrusion the constitutional bishops, and to condemn them because they had received that institution from the metropolitans, was to condemn the firs twelve centuries of Christianity.

This civil constitution served as a pretext to the dignified clergy, irritated at the loss of their estates, for concerting a combined resistance to the new laws, in the hope that this resistance would lead to a subversion which would restore to them their riches. Thence the refusal of the oath, "To be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, to guide faithfully the flock instructed to their care, and to maintain with all their power the constitution decreed by the assembly, and sanctioned by the king." Thence the line of division between the clergy who had taken the oath and those who had not.

The Constituent Assembly, who had decreed the above oath, declared, that the refusal of giving this pledge of fidelity should be considered as a voluntary resignation. The royal sanction had rendered the above decree a law of the state. Almost the whole of the bishops, a great number of rectors, and other ecclesiastics, refused to take this oath, already taken by several among them who were deputies to the Assembly.

They were, in consequence, declared to have resigned; and measures were taken for supplying their place. The people proceeded to effect this by electors authorized by law. A respectable number of ecclesiastics, who had already submitted to the law, accepted the elections. These priests thought that obedience to the national authority, which respected and protected religion, was a catholic principle. What resistance could be made to legitimate power, which neither attacked the principles, the morality, nor the interior and essential discipline of the church? It was, say they, resisting God himself.

They thought that the pastor was chosen and sent solely for the care of the flock intrusted to him; that, when difficult circumstances, flight, for instance, voluntary or forced, or the prohibition from all functions, pronounced by the civil power, rendered the holy ministry impossible; or that the pastor could not exercise it without declaring himself in open insurrection, the pretended irremoveable rights then ceased, with the sacred duties which they could not discharge, without being accused of rebellion.

The dissentient bishops drew many priests into their party. Most of them spread themselves over Europe, where they calumniated at their ease the patriotic clergy. Those of their adherents who had remained in the interior of France kindled a civil war, tormented people's besotted consciences, and disturbed the peace of families, &c. This conduct, which encreased the horror of the sanguinary scenes in La Vendée, provoked violent measures on the part of the Government.

"Enemies without and within," said the constitutional clergy, "wish to create a disgust to liberty, by substituting to it licentiousness." And, indeed, the partisans of the dissentient clergy were seen to coalesce with the atheists and the unbelievers, in order to produce the religious disorders which broke out everywhere in the year 1793.

The clergy, who had taken the oath, had organized the dioceses; the bishops, in general, had bestowed great pains in setting preachers in every parish. They preached themselves, and this was, indeed, a contrast to the indolence of their predecessors, who, engaged in spending, frequently in a shameful manner, immense revenues, seldom or never visited their dioceses. The constitutional clergy, following a plan more conformable to the gospel, gained the affection of the well-disposed part of the nation.

These priests were of opinion, that the storm which

threatened religion, required imperiously the immediate presence of the pastor, and that in the day of battle it was necessary to be in person at the breach. They were of opinion that the omission or impossibility of fulfilling minute and empty formalities, imposed by a Concordat, rejected from the beginning by all the public bodies and the church of France, and annihilated, at the moment, by the will of the representatives of the nation, sanctioned by royal authority, could not exempt them from accepting holy functions presented by all the constituted authorities, and on which, evidently, depended the preservation of religion, the salvation of the faithful, and the peace of the state.

But, when persecution manifested itself, the clergy who had taken the oath became equally the victims of persecuting rage. Some failed in this conjuncture; but the greater number remained intrepid in their principles. Accordingly, several constitutional bishops and priests were dragged to the scaffold. If, on the one hand, the dastardly Gobel was guillotined, the same fate attended the respectable Expilly, bishop of Quimper; Amourette, bishop of Lyons; and Gouttes, bishop of Autun, &c.

The dissentient clergy reproached some constitutional priests with having married, and even with having apostatized; but they said not that among the dissentient there were some who had done the same. If the number of the latter was smaller, it was because the greater part of them were out of France; but what would they have done, if, like the constitutional clergy, they had either had the axe suspended over their heads, or the guillotine accompanying all their steps?

In England, where the French priests were not thus exposed, there were some who had likewise married, and even some who had apostatized.

It is well known, that, amidst the terrors of atheistical persecution, Gregoire, bishop of Blois, declared that he braved them, and remained attached to his principles

and duties as a Christian and a bishop. He firmly believed that, in doing so, he was pronouncing his sentence of death, and, for eighteen months, he was in expectation of ascending the scaffold. The same courage animated the majority of the constitutional bishops and priests; they exercised secretly, their ministry, and consoled the faithful. As soon as the rage for persecution began to abate Gregoire, and some other bishops, who had kept up a private correspondence with the clergy of various dioceses, for the purpose of encouraging them, concerted together in order to reorganize worship. In Nivose, year 3 (January 1795,) Gregoire demanded this liberty of worship of the National Convention. He was very sure of meeting with outrages, and he experienced some; but to speak in the tribune was speaking to France and to all Europe, and, in the then state of things, he was almost certain of staggering public opinion, which would force the Convention to grant the free exercise of religion. Accordingly, some time after having refused the liberty of worship on the demand of Gregoire, that Assembly granted it, though with evident reluctance, on an insulting report of Boissy d'Anglas.

The constitutional bishops had already anticipated this moment by their writings and their pastoral letters, &c. They then compiled two works, entitled "Lettres Encycliques," to which the bishops and priests of the various dioceses adhered. The object of these works, which the Catholics esteem as monuments of wisdom, piety, and courage, was to reorganize public worship in all the dioceses, according to the principles of the primitive church. They pronounced a formal exclusion from ecclesiastical functions against all prevaricating or married priests, as well as all those who had the cowardice to deliver up their authority for preaching, and to abdicate their functions. On all sides, they reanimated religious zeal, caused pastors for the various sees to be elected

by the people, and consecrated by the metropolitan bishops.

For a long time past the customs of holding councils had fallen into disuse. They convoked a national council, notwithstanding the unfavourableness of a silent persecution; and, in spite of the penury which afflicted the pastors, the latter had the courage to devote themselves in order to concur in it. This Council was opened with great solemnity on the 15th of August, 1797, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin. It sat for three months.

This Council was published in the different dioceses, and its regulations were put into force. During this time, the government, being hostile to religion, had not abandoned the project of persecuting, and, perhaps, of destroying it. The voice of the multitude, which clamoured for religion, and held in esteem the constitutional clergy as religious and patriotic, checked, in some respects, the hatred of the Directory and its agents. Then the spirit of persecution took a circuitous way to gain its end: this was, to cry down religion and its minsters, to promote Theophilanthropy, and enforce the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*, or tenth day of every republican month.

The bishops, assembled at Paris, again caused this project to miscarry, and, in their name, GREGOIRE compiled two consultations against the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*. The adhesion of all the clergy was the fruit of his labour; but all this drew on him numerous outrages, the indigence to which he was at that time reduced, and multiplied threats of deportation. The functions which he had discharged, and the esteem of the friends of religion, formed around him a shelter of opinion that saved him from deportation, to which were condemned so many unfortunate constitutional priests, who were crowded, with the refractory among others, into vessels lying in the road of Rochefort.

Gregoire remonstrated against this grievance, and obtained an alleviation for his brethren: but it is to be remarked, that in giving an account of their enlargement, the *dissentient* priests took care not to mention to whom they were indebted for having obtained in their behalf this act of humanity and justice.

Religion, under the Consuls, was no longer an object of persecution but of care. Free toleration of opinion, grounded upon liberty of conscience, and secured by liberty of worship, seemed to promise a jubilee to the harassed devotees.

Long had the whole French nation lain under the imputation of being Atheists—a God-abandoned people—a horde of irreligious miscreants. The devout were, therefore, flattered by the regulations of the Consuls, which promised to their hopes a renewal of the former character of the French for religion and piety, and a revival of a regular and "most Christian" government. The Canonists and the Jurists,—the pious of all species;—the arrogant and the humble—the high-minded and the foolish—the lofty and the simple—the priests, and the priest-ridden, all instantly lifted up their voices in praise of the First Consul; and he was hailed a true Son of the Universal Church of Christ upon earth.

Already did the true Catholics anticipate the re-establishment of papacy as the national religion;—"For," said they, "how can a nation stand without religion; and, as there is no salvation but within the pale of the Catholic church, the Government cannot establish any other church but ours?" They defined the rights of the religious and the duties of the sectaries and the sceptics.

The persecution of all religion for several years, had not subdued the jealousies which the devout, of different persuasions entertained of each other; and the conduct of the fanatics proved the folly of giving a power to any one sect of oppressing another. The Catholics hated the Protestants; the Protestants feared the Catholics;

the Philosophers despised both; and neither body was content that the others should be as free as themselves. Each was anxious to acquire and to preserve a political ascendancy in the state:—each of the religious parties began to indulge a hope of its becoming the national church establishment, and of receiving its investiture from the new government;—each therefore, intrigued for the honour of being the fulminator of the decrees of heaven, against the good sense, the manly liberality, and the honest sentiments of the nation; each caballed for the paraphernalia which constitutes the dignity of the spiritual state-mummer; and the bulk of the people, who were to be the objects of the delusion, aided their designs by their childish desire of change.

Reflection on such scenes occasion disgust: spiritual hypocrisy stands exposed to every beholder, and the politician is tempted to believe, that religion is only of value, to be used amongst the people like the *obi* of the negroes, as a philtre to lethargize the frenzy of the ignorant; or to reduce the endeavours of the poor in spirit to passive obedience.

The selfishness of religious *factions*, in their scramble for power, was well expressed by a late learned Lord, remarkable for bluntness of address, who has the character of great independence, because no one was ever able to controul him. He was applied to by the Catholics of England, to support a petition, presented to the house of peers for their emancipation. His Lordship, who did not regard man at all, and was not believed to fear God much, answered the deputation, that waited on him, to this effect: "Why, Gentlemen, religion has not much of my care, and I do'nt care a rush about spiritual squabbles; because, when some people fall out the public are gainers. The wisdom of our ancestors has thought proper to saddle us with a church establishment: now, as we have the folly to think that we cannot do without an establishment, and choose to continue it; of two evils, I

would rather support a Protestant establishment than a Catholic establishment: and, as you, if you were uppermost, would keep us down; so, now as we are uppermost, we will keep you down;—that's all."

A similar policy seems to have governed the *pious* Consul in his preference to the Catholics; for it will be recollected that his conduct to the Pope was of a kind the best suited to show his contempt of their system and opinions, from the first moment of his appointment to the army of Italy.

After the severe contributions levied upon the Ecclesiastical States in 1797, the General got his brother, Joseph Buonaparté, appointed ambassador to the Pope. The propensity that powerfully governed the French at that period, to republicanize every government into which they could get footing, induced Joseph to be so insolent and boisterous at Rome as Bernadotte was at Vienna; and, interfering with the police of the city, upon an occasion of tumult that happened there, a French officer of his establishment was killed. No stronger circumstance was required to justify a new declaration of war with the Pope. The ambassador, inspired by wrath and indignation, fled with his complaints to the Directory, who, as before stated, decreed Rome a republic.

Pius the Sixth, who had not the means of purchasing kindness of those despots, was arrested, with about forty persons, who composed his suite, and was ordered to march to the place assigned for his imprisonment. In vain did this old man of eighty-two plead, that they had not left him sufficient resources to pay for carriage: the French commander obliged him to travel on foot, across the Alps and the Appenines, to the fortress of Briançon, a journey of thirty-four days, during which he was frequently ready to sink with fatigue! If any consideration could divest the conduct of the French Government of the severe censures that are justly due to it for its illiberality and meanness in this case, perhaps it might be found in the

opportunity that was afforded him of carrying on his business in his exile: for it appears, by a letter from Madrid, dated February 21, 1799, that the Council of Castile published a bull of the Pope, which, in return for pecuniary contributions, permits the Spaniards to eat meat all the year, except during Ember week and on Thursday and Friday in Passion week! his Holiness also empowered the King of Spain to take half the tythes of his kingdom for the use of his treasury. On the 27th of June the old Gentleman was removed to Grenoble, and from thence to Valence and Dijon: he died at the former place, and was interred as a private individual: an instance of neglect that offended the devout Catholics very acutely, but which Buonaparté turned to his advantage by issuing, on his advancement to the Consulate, the following

DECREE FOR BURYING THE POPE.

"THE Consuls of the Republic considering, that, for the last six months, the body of Pius VI. has been deposited in the city of Valence, without giving to it the honours of sepulture:

"That, though this old man, respectable for his misfortunes, was, for a moment, the enemy of France, he was only so from being seduced by the counsels of those who surrounded him:

"That it belongs to the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to give some marks of consideration to a man who occupied one of the first stations on earth, decree,

"1st.—That the Minister of the Interior take care that the body of Pius VI. be interred with the honours due to his rank:

"2nd.—That there be erected on the place of his sepulture a simple monument, making known the dignity with which he was invested.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."
"H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

During this period the Conclave had met at Venice to name a successor to Pius VI. and the city of Rome was subjected to a government compounded of civil and military principles. The administration was entrusted to a

provisionary council, composed of Roman nobility strongly attached to the interest of the pontifical government: such of the Neapolitan troops as were stationed in the territory of Rome were active in searching out the men who were termed patriots by way of contempt, and confining them in prison at St. Angelo, to which they were conducted in the most ignominious manner: and here the bloody and revengeful spirit of aristocracy seemed to vie with the democracy of Paris in the extravagance of its cruelty. The only amelioration of their present situation which could be expected by the Romans was the nomination of a successor to the late Pius VI. which, upon the whole, could produce no essential alteration, since it was no more than a transition from a government that they abhorred, to one that they despised.

THE END OF CHAP. XXIV.

CHAPTER XXV.

Overtures for Peace not eagerly accepted by the Allies. ....Address of the Archduke Charles....Letter from Talleyrand to Lord Grenville; from Buonaparté to the King of Great Britain and Ireland....Answer....Second Letter, and Answer.

BUONAPARTE's decided declaration in favour of peace had attached the people to the Consular Government; every principle of policy, therefore, called upon him to make an early attempt to negotiate, whatever might be his private inclination.

Much manœuvreing, it has already been seen, had been practised on either side during the war to cast the blame of its continuance on its antagonist; but the Allies did not seem disposed to incur the charge of a similar duplicity upon this occasion. The Archduke, in anticipation of some sort of overture from the enemy, took occasion, as early as the 4th of December, to communicate his sentiments to the anterior circles of the Empire from his head-quarters at Donaueschingen. He said,—"It is from a sentiment of most urgent necessity that I feel myself compelled to speak to you on a subject and dispositions, from which may result very great injury to the common cause of the Germanic Empire. I see with regret that upon the late events in France, by which the supreme power has passed into other hands, has been founded, almost every where, the hope, that has often proved deceitful, of an approaching pacification; and that, in the confidence of this premature supposition, has been assumed the power of putting off the contingents in activity, and the accomplishment of other constitutional obligations. A heart truly German and patriotic and enlightened by such sad experience, cannot abso-

lately commit such imprudence; such conduct would deprive us of the only means of obtaining a steady peace, upon terms just and proper. We ought not intirely to forget the maxim, that, if we wish for peace, we should prepare vigorously for war. Should the enemy continue his imperious tone, and be disposed to prescribe once more a peace that would infallibly lead us to shame and slavery, he will be the more inclined to listen to reason if we assume a bold attitude. Too often has the hope, indulged with so much precipitation with respect to France, proved deceitful, to suffer these new events to lull the state into false security. It has been seen uniformly, till the present hour, that every new faction has talked a great deal about peace; not with a view to conclude one upon equitable terms, but to gain popularity; that they have often the word Peace in their mouths, and are continually commencing new wars; or, that by the word Peace they have meant nothing but the extermination of their enemies. The events that took place in France on the 9th of November, considered in a near point of view, are not of a nature to afford us all at once a full confidence.

"Some of those who have possessed themselves of the supreme power are the same men who so often, by their principles, and the whole course of their public lives, have sworn eternal hatred to all states not constituted like their own; who have overturned some and perfidiously subjugated others in full peace. The spirit which manifests itself, even in the writings of France, is not so pacific: it is there frequently declared, that this new revolution has no other object than to raise the Republic still higher. The late Directory is blamed there, not for beginning the war, but for not having carried it on successfully; and for having lost their old conquests, instead of making new ones. In all their proclamations they begin by speaking of victories, and they talk of peace afterwards; a clear indication that circumstances do not yet appear favourable for the latter. The Minister of War openly an-

nounces, that he is employed in reinforcing the army and providing it with every thing: he adds, that he will take part of the dangers himself, and that he is preparing new triumphs for the army. There has not yet been any relaxation on the part of France in the prepartions for war, to justify the Germans to relax their's: but, on the contrary, a new corps is to be raised in the four new united departments. Yet, even though we might have no grounds to distrust the views and objects of the new rulers of France; is the new constitution sufficiently confirmed to inspire a full assurance that it will not be overturned, like the rest?

"Finally, the question does not hear of such peace, as every convention or armistice might be called; the question is safety, the conditions for which we essentially contend—conditions which honour, dignity, liberty, the integrity of the German Empire, and the inviolability of our dearest treaties demand. I invoke you to weigh maturely these considerations with the patriotic sentiments with which you are inspired, and then you will certainly agree with me, that prudence forbids you to be seduced into inactivity by ill-founded reports of peace. You will feel with me the necessity of hastening the measure of defence, of redoubling our efforts, of augmenting our forces, and of accomplishing in the most serious manner the resolutions of the Diet, for opposing an energetic mass to the new forces of the enemy. It is only by an imposing military force that we shall be able to prevent the enemy from making new devastating attacks, to abridge or terminate the evils of war, to ameliorate the conditions of pacification, or, finally, to accelerate the peace, that may recompense the multiplied sacrifices by which we have long sought to obtain it.

"The Archduke Charles."

Buonaparté did not seem to entertain any doubt of the readiness of the Combined Powers to enter upon an im-

mediate negotiation; and, on the 26th of December, he communicated his wish to the courts of Vienna and St. James's. The Emperor was not, however, so eager; and it was in vain that the Consul interposed the mediation of the King of Prussia at the same time that Moreau was employed to importune the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Colleredo was occupied in remonstrating with the Imperial cabinet. Great Britain was equally interested in the event, and Austria would not act without knowing the sentiments of her ally. Much diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the propriety of conduct adopted upon that occasion by the Allies; and if they are to be judged upon the principle of policy, which can only determine the justice or injustice of an action by its result, there can be no doubt but they were too fastidious in their objections to the enemy's proposal: but as they had not the same advantage that posterity will have, of determining by the result, it will be more candid to judge them by the appearance of things at the time, and to hear the grounds upon which their judgments were guided, as reasoned by themselves.

The issue seemed, by common consent, to be placed upon the decision of the British cabinet; and the whole subject may be fully understood by the discussion it underwent in the English parliament, the substance of which is contained in the speeches of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, upon the correspondence being laid before parliament, as the ground of an address to the King.

On the 31st of December, a French messenger arrived at Dover, bearing a Letter to the King, inclosed in one to the Secretary of State, Lord Grenville, as follows:

"My Lord,

"I Dispatch, by order of General Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, a messenger to London: he is the bearer of a letter from the First Consul of the French Republic, to his Majesty the King of England. I request you to give the necessary orders

that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object.

" Accept, my Lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) " CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

" Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th Year of the French Republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.")

" *FRENCH REPUBLIC, Sovereignty of the People.*

" LIBERTY ! EQUALITY !

" *BUONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to his MAJESTY the KING of GREAT BRITAIN and of IRELAND.*

" Paris, the 5th Nivose, 8th Year of the Republic.

" CALLED by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the First Magistracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty.

" The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? are there no means of coming to an understanding?

" How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

" These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

" Your Majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, intirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak States, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

" France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

" Of your Majesty,

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

ANSWER.

" SIR, " Dowing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.

" I HAVE received, and laid before the King, the two letters which you have transmitted to me, and his Majesty, seeing no reason to

depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official Answer, which I send you herewith inclosed. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "GRENVILLE.

"To the Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

NOTE.

"THE King has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects.

"For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack: and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negociation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France. Since no real advantage can arise from such negociation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

"The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his Majesties ancient friends and allies) have, successively, been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was, perhaps, unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

" While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

" For the security, therefore, of these essential objects his Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general profession of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

" Greatly, indeed, will his Majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end: that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have, ultimately, prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have, at length, been finally relinquished:—but the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, can result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts.

" The best and most natural pledge of its reality, and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and in consideration and respect abroad:—such an event would at once have removed, and will, at any time, remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

" *But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty* limits *he* possibility of secure and solid pacification. *His Majesty* makes *o* claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

" His Majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions nd those of his Allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained,

as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

"Unhappily, no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can, for the present, only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

"GRENVILLE.

"Downing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.

"To the Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

"*Second Letter from the* MINISTER *for* FOREIGN AFFAIRS *at Paris to* LORD GRENVILLE.

"Paris, 24 Nivose, 8th Year, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

"MY LORD,

"I LOST no time in laying before the First Consul of the Republic the official Note, under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

"Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high confidence.

(Signed) "CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

"Minister for Foreign Affairs at London."

NOTE.

"THE Official Note, under date the 14th Nivose, the 8th Year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic Majesty, having been laid before the First Consul of the French Republic, he observed with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion, which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments: and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

" But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her.—Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.

" Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

" Assailed on all sides, the Republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence, and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shewn as much moderation as the nation itself has shewn courage, it must above all be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

" But if the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, in (conformity with his assurances) are, in unison with those of the French Republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt especially when the First Consul of the Republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all treaties concluded?

" The First Consul of the Republic could not doubt that his Bri-

tannic Majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his Majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that Republican government, of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recal to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

"If at periods, not far distant, when the constitutional system of the Republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic Majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negociation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager to renew negociations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress. On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities; or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the First Consul of the French Republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who shall apply themselves, without delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French Republic and England.

"The First Consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) "CH. MAU, TALLEYRAND.

"Paris, the 24th Nivose, (14th Jan. 1800,)
8th Year of the French Republic."

ANSWER.

"*From* LORD GRENVILLE *to the* MINISTER *for* FOREIGN AFFAIRS *at* PARIS.

"SIR, Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800

"I HAVE the honour to inclose to you the answer which his Majesty has directed me to return to the Official Note which you trans-

mitted to me. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "GRENVILLE.

"To the Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. at Paris."

NOTE.

"THE official Note transmitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the King.

"His Majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes, in that Note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present Ruler under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His Majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and, in so far as they respect his Majesty's conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself.

"With respect to the object of the Note, his Majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

"He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negociation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace and for the future observance of treaties; the power of ensuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions; all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his Majesty has already referred them—the result of experience and the evidence of facts.

"With that sincerity and plainness which his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his Majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that essential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his Allies the means of immediate and joint negociation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

" To these declarations his Majesty steadily adheres, and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) " GRENVILLE.

" Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800."

The manner of introducing this discussion has formed a new epoch in the history of diplomacy; and the only marked and *clearly delineated* feature of it is, the egotism and impatience of the First Consul, who had scarcely slept upon his usurpation, before he had resolved to trample upon all the forms that unite civilized society together, and to tempt one of the greatest sovereigns of Europe to conspire with him in the despotic triumph. The apparent *naïveté* of the proceeding, stripped of colateral consideration, was just calculated to inspire an unwary people with confidence in the good faith and honour of the Consul: but those who had read his communications with the Turks, and his Letters to Kleber, must have been credulous indeed, to have regarded it in any other light than as a measure of refined policy, resorted to for his own convenience.

THE END OF CHAP. XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Parliamentary Discussions on the continuance of the War....The Archduke Charles superseded—Severe Reflections of the French Government against the English for rejecting the Overtures of Peace.

A MESSAGE from the King accompanied the papers relative to the negociation, which were presented to Parliament on the 22nd of January.

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, January 28, Lord Grenville, on moving an address, in an eloquent speech, of three hours, said, That he found it necessary to take a review of the conduct of our enemies, to shew how far any reliance could be placed on their professions. His Lordship proceeded to observe, that M. Talleyrand had acted in conjunction with M. Chauvelin, and was named in the commission sent by the late French monarch, when he expressed his thanks to this country, which he looked upon as his guardian angel, for having declined any part in the convention of Pilnitz; and yet Talleyrand attempts to defend now what he then knew to be false. His Lordship thought the proposed suspension of arms to be even worse than a treaty; such a measure might, indeed, be of advantage to France in many points of view, but could be of no benefit to Britain. His Lordship's arguments on this subject were so obvious as not to need recapitulation. He condemned very severely their professions of peace while they continued at war with every power in Europe, except Sweden and Denmark. Spain he considered to be in perfect subjection to the Gallic yoke, and the tyrannical subjection of Holland was too well known.

His Lordship thought that whenever the gov[illegible]nt of France should abandon its present principles, [illegible] come able to preserve the relations of peace and [illegible]

it might safely be treated with. He condemned the ideas which had been entertained out of doors on the subject of negociation, and he hoped their Lordship would fully unite in an humble address to his Majesty on the occasion.

The proofs that the French Consul had given of his eagerness for peace required some degree of investigation, not only into their arguments but into the character of the man, whom his Lordship placed in a very opprobrious view: a man, who, he said, had began his opposition at the mouth of a cannon and preserved it at the point of a bayonet. To Buonaparté his Lordship attributed the ill success of all the treaties hitherto commenced, and to whom was attributable all the misfortunes that at present overwhelmed Europe: by treaties and suspensions of arms they had been uniformly deceived, and could have no possible confidence in the professions of an enemy. He even followed Buonaparté into Egypt to detect his duplicity, and spoke of the intercepted correspondence, which explained, as his Lordship thought, the intentions of the French General. He reprobated Buonaparté as a traitor and an atheist; and asserted, that his designs were, ultimately, to bring about the destruction of British commerce. The Address was read.

The Duke of Bedford argued calmly against the present measures, and moved an amendment.

Lord Romney, a friend of the ministry, said, That, on the present occasion, he rose with peculiar difficulty and embarrassment. He could not but give his approbation to the energy of the executive government, and to the prudence of those who guided his Majesty's councils. He was convinced of the sincerity of the wish expressed by our Sovereign and his ministers for peace; he could not think, however, that the latter, in the present instance, had taken the most advantageous ground. The plausible language of Buonaparté was such as may, possibly, answer his wish, by creating a division of sentiment

among the people of this country. He had no opinion of Buonaparté, who, at the time of the treaty of Campo Formio, had proclaimed that England should not exist! but his language was now changed, and where was the man who could assert that his sentiments had not undergone a similar alteration? In his opinion, therefore, our ministers should have held the same language as they did previously to the negociations at Lisle, and have said, that they were, at all times, ready to treat "for ourselves and for our allies." It was of no consequence to the people of France whether they fought for a Bourbon or a Buonaparté, in either case, they could never submit to be treated as a conquered nation. He could not agree in approving wholly the conduct which ministers had pursued on the present occasion; but as he had still greater objections to the amendment offered by the noble Duke, he should decline to vote on the present question.

Lord Holland, the Earl of Caernarvon, Lord Boringdon, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Auckland, delivered their sentiments, when the address was carried by a great majority.

The Message was discussed in the House of Commons, on Monday, February 3. The speeches of Mr. Secretary Dundas, (Lord Melville) and Messrs. Whitbread, Canning, and Erskine were distinguished for argument and information; but, those of the two great leaders of Administration and Opposition, give a correct and ample statement of the arguments urged for and against the commencement of negociation.

Mr. Pitt commenced his speech, by observing, that the question before the House appeared to him to be, whether the inevitable destinies of the world were such as obviated the possibility of their being controuled by any human exertions; and whether, impressed with that idea, the people and government of this country were patiently to resign themselves to a passive endurance of a system founded on principles, the inquiry of which was admitted

by Mr. Erskine, who had last addressed the House, and he trusted by every one else who heard him. He was extremely sorry to have heard that Honourable Gentleman infer, that let the French revolution, in its origin and continuance have been productive of every possible evil; that supposing it the most dreadful visitation with which heaven had ever afflicted mankind, still that it was not justifiable in this country to oppose itself as a barrier to its further progress. Contemplating the subject in this view, he would enter somewhat in detail, though he wished to detain the House, as short a time as possible. It was, he conceived, impossible to separate the question now before the House from the antecedent causes of the French revolution; yet, the Honourable Gentleman had altogether omitted referring in the least respect to those causes: he had merely recapitulated the arguments contained in the Pamphlet he had written, which had been repeatedly advanced on former occasions by him, and others of the opposition speakers and publishers within and without doors. It was necessary to consider, whether in negociating with the enemy, we had a fair prospect of an adequate security for the observance of the terms of the negociation. This question, however, could not be decided without adverting to the original conduct of the French; and he maintained, that before any man could concur in opinion with the Honorable Gentleman, it must have been safe in this country to have acceded to the overtures of the French: he must have been convinced that the system of the French revolution did not exhibit those circumstances of danger arising out of the situation of France, which rendered it inadequate to impart security to the negociations it might enter on; or that the recent change which had taken place had given that security and confidence to the government which before were wanting; or, 3dly, he must have believed that the danger had never existed, or had even now ceased; yet, from the view of its present state and future prospects, we were

bound to accept an inadequate security rather than run the further risk of a prolongation of the contest in which we were engaged. When he heard the Honourable Gentleman again giving the House those arguments he had so often urged, and advancing, upon the authority of his own writings, that the orgin of the war was to be imputed to the dismissal of M. Chauvelin, he was tempted to make a short reply: there was a degree of inaccuracy as to dates in his statement, and that of Talleyrand, which he had observed generally characterized men of their great genius. Speaking of the first professions of the French Republic, it had been stated, that they had, from the beginning, been actuated by a love of peace, and a respect for other nations: and that if they had appeared to have departed from that system, they would not have done so without the provocation of other nations. The outrages supposed to have been offered to France were attributed to the example set by England in dismissing M. Chauvelin, and that dismissal was alluded to as having made future discussion between the two countries impossible: the fact was, all the causes which would have justified a declaration of war on the part of this country had been previously submitted to discussion; and France had stated, if we were not satisfied as to the points proposed by her as her *ultimatum*, they would consider our rejection as a declaration of war. While matters were in this situation, there followed that atrocious deed which he could not but consider as one of the blackest and most atrocious murders ever committed. Those who assumed the government required we should acknowledge the ambassador of the deceased King as the diplomatic agent of the French Republic—it was returned for answer, that, as he had been accredited the representative of a power unlawfuly murdered, this country could not continue him in his former capacity; the French, by their sacrilegious murder of Louis XVI. had put a period to the functions of M. Chauvelin, his minister; he no longer appeared in

the same capacity; ministers had been armed with the extraordinary powers of the Alien Act, which enabled them to drive all suspected persons from the kingdom; would it have been fit or consistent to have suffered M. Chauvelin to have remained after the act of his nation had terminated his mission? the next point was, as to the cause of the rejection of the *ultimatum* of the French government. It was their acting hostilely against our Ally, in consequence of the assumption of a right superseding the law of nations—the right of opening the Scheld. In either a military or maritime point of view, the opening of that river was important: but it became still more so, because, on the same principle, they could determine that the Rhine and the Alps were the natural boundaries of France. They were also marching, by rapid strides, into Holland, and had given orders to pursue the Austrian generals into neutral countries; they had shewn their contempt of aggrandisement, by annexing Belgium to their dominions, and their disposition for peace, by wresting Savoy from the King of Sardinia. In addition to these arbitrary acts, they passed the decree of the 19th November, promising French protection to all who wished for revolutionary freedom, and sealed their promise by the deposition and murder of their sovereign. Encouraged by the long forbearance of the government of this country, and the insolence of those disaffected subjects who had been misled by the propagation of their principles, they had already anticipated their triumph; and, reeking with the blood of their sovereign, looked forward, with exultation, to the day on which the people of England should co-operate with their National Convention. Their explanation of this decree was, that it never was intended to be carried into effect, unless where a whole nation was unanimous. After this came the decree of the 15th of December; a decree which he could not but suppose the Honourable Gentleman had totally forgot, for it was nothing more or less than a declaration of war against all regular and civi-

lized governments. It stated, that wherever the armies of the French came, every endeavour should be used to form the people according to the principles of the French Republic. In order to carry this decree into effect, they had waged war with all the nations of Europe, save two; and those two had, perhaps, kept aloof from the contest, in consequence of their aversion to carrying on a defensive war. The principles of that decree had been applied to every one of those nations with whom the French Republic had come in contact. It had been proposed that this decree should be confined to those nations with whom France was actually at war, but that proposal, by a great majority, had been rejected.

The new destroyers of thrones had foreseen, with accuracy, the extent to which they could realize their projects, and had been upon the look-out how to make them the current business of the day, and the standing orders of the staff of the army. The decree he alluded to contained a schedule, as accurately and methodically arranged as any schedule relative to the common routine of business in this country. There was enclosed to every general a blank, to be filled up with the name of the nation requiring the aid of the Republic: thus anticipating the judgment of all nations, and pre-determining that they should be dissatisfied with their respective governments. By the decree of the 15th of December, those who refused to suffer France to execute this right of assimilation, were to be treated as conquered enemies. It was not till after all these aggressions, that M. Chauvelin was ordered to depart; but still the English government, though we are almost ashamed to own it, left open the door of negociation till war was declared not by England, but France. The House had been told that this country had supported the combination of other countries against France; the evidence he had to disprove this was unanswerable.—1st, There were the documents.—2ndly, The

confessions of the Brissotines and Robespierres, criminating each other, and both acquitting England;—3dly, It had been stated, in a manner amounting to proof, that the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz were spurious or misrepresented. As to the treaty of Pavia it was an utter forgery, and the treaty of Pilnitz was suspended by the release of the King of France from his durance, and his subsequent acceptation of a constitution, which, by a natural progression, had conducted him to the scaffold. With regard to the hostilities having been determined on by France, previous to M. Chauvelin's having been dismissed from this country, he inferred the fact from the publications of Dumourier, Brissot, and the American minister, Genet. If England had erred, it had been from too fond an adherence to a system diametrically opposite to that which France had pursued; and he would venture to state, that, prior to the dismission of Chauvelin, no provocation had been giving at all by this government, though it would have been amply justified by the decrees of the French Convention. England would have been justified in declaring war when she saw France, not only directing hostile measures against her immediate interests, but involving the Emperor, her Ally. Had the English government sought to make the war unavoidable? on the contrary, he had documents to prove its conduct had been altogether neutral; but with this condition, that France was not to attack it through the medium of its Allies. It was not till after the battle of Jemappe, when our Allies had been attacked, and the decree of Fraternity had passed, that war was entered into by this country. He next referred to the dispatch of the 29th December 1792, from Lord Grenville to our minister at Russia, desiring, on the part of Russia, to have an explanation on the subject of the war with France; the two leading points wished to be communicated were,—First, The plan of conduct previous to the commencement of hostilities; and whether it would not be possible to avert the threat

ened calamities?—Secondly, Whether, if that could not be effected, the forces of the Allied Powers were sufficient to carry on the war with hopes of success? The project of this country intended to avert the war with France, was comprised in the following terms of peace; namely, the withdrawing of their armies, restoring the conquests they had made, we giving an unequivocal proof of our intention not to foment any troubles in France, or to interfere in their political affairs, but to preserve the relations of peace and amity. With regard to the second point, it was not necessary to enlarge upon it. If any one should ask, whether there was any excitement in the declaration of the British government on the subject, with reference to hostilities, he would answer, that the only circumstance to be alledged against their conduct was, that it had been too slow in adopting hostile measures; and that it had vainly thought forbearance would have been effectual: he would say no more as to the origin of the war. He contended that the system of French republicanism would never be destroyed until the principles on which it was founded were extinguished, or its strength exhausted. He said he might enter into a variety of other observations upon this part of the subject; but he would content himself with observing, that the French revolution had produced one continued scene of aggression toward every nation in Europe: it was impossible to take up a map, and lay your hands on any one country in which France had not committed some devastation, infringed some treaty, or violated some law of nations; the first in the list was the attack of the French on the papal rights, by seizing upon Avignon, exercising every species of cruelty, and compelling it, at the point of the bayonet, to implore a mere nominal freedom; the next depredation was the seizure of Porentrui, belonging to the Bishop of Basle; to these were to be added the seizure of Savoy, which had been incorporated with the Republic, and the attack upon the dominions of Austria,

Russia, and Germany. He proceeded to state the relative situation of France and the Allied Powers, at the time of the commencement of hostilities, and referred the motive for the arbitrary seizures of the French, not to the misconduct of the powers whose territories they invaded, but to the ingenious discovery that the Rhine and the Alps were the natural boundaries of France. He then adverted to the unwarrantable attack of the French upon the various states of Italy, the dominions of the King of Sardinia, the conversion of Genoa and Tuscany into republics, the revolutionizing Venice, and the subsequent transfer of it to the dominions of Austria. He censured the conduct of Austria in accepting an indemnification by the cession of Venice; but affirmed, however unjust that indemnification might have been, yet, if there was anything for which Venice would thank the French, it would be for transferring it to the despotism of Vienna, instead of retaining it in their fraternal embraces. He alluded to the former negociations for peace, contending that they did not manifest the least spirit, on the part of this country, for dismembering France. England was Mistress of the Seas, had collected the wealth of the world, had annihilated the commerce of France, and had doubled her own: yet, pre-eminent as was her situation, she aimed not at the partition of the ancient territory of France, but offered to return a part of those conquests, every one of which she had certainly a right to retain. The negociations were broken off by France new-moulding her code of laws, and pretending that what she had once annexed to her territory could never afterward be surrendered. Was it a proof France was pursued with unrelenting hostility, when she was not desired to give up all she had obtained, and would not wish to retain all we had conquered? attended with similar aggravations had been the conduct of the French with regard to Modena, Naples, &c. in all of which acts of oppression, the name of Buonaparté appeared as the principal personage. He referred

to the last overtures for peace made by this country, by which we freely offered all we had, requiring only from France a part of that we had conquered from Holland. But it was in vain these terms were offered; having spurned the offers of England, and being relieved from the war with Austria, she attacked Switzerland, where that dreadful scene of carnage and horror took place, which fully unmasked the conduct of the French to those who were previously blind to their deformity. Military laws were applied to subject a people proverbial for the innocence of their lives, and the inhabitants of a spot which had been considered an asylum for peaceful freedom.

If any one wished to contemplate the picture of French cruelty, he would ask, whether it was not the natural result of the French revolution, and of those principles which had made as much misery in France as in the rest of the world? He alluded to the couduct of France toward America, which, he said, if anything had been wanting, had completely changed the minds of those who had before entertained the least doubt; their conduct had been sordid in the highest degree, and formed a new instance of that spirit of revolution, which was not confined to Europe alone. The only subject that remained to speak upon was, the expedition to Egypt; but first, he would advert to the island of Malta, merely to shew there was no place too small to elude the vigilance of the all-searching eye of the French revolution. The attack on Egypt, he observed, was made in the name of the French king, who had been murdered, and was pretended to be sanctioned by the Grand Seignor, whose dominions were invaded; that the assent of the Grand Seignor was withheld by the machinations of Russia; that they had abjured Christianity in favour of the Mussulman faith; and that their object was to attack the English possessions in the East Indies. At the very moment negociations for peace were carrying on, they were accompanied by a revolutionary attack, according to the system of the

French, by sending messengers of peace and freedom to the East, who were to recommend destruction to all sovereigns, except their good ally, citizen Tippoo: they have been fitly rewarded for their perfidy by having now no other sovereign on the throne of France than a rank citizen Tippoo. The nature of the French system was nothing but an insatiable love of aggrandizement: that was its governing principle; it was the soul that animated it at its birth, and certainly would not desert it till its extinction; it had been invariably the same at every stage of the revolution; it equally belonged to Brissot, Robespierre, Reubell, and Barras; but it belonged more than all to Buonaparté, in whom were united all their powers and all their crimes. He described France, in her present situation, as bleeding at every pore, and by her miseries asking pardon of God and man for her enormities. With no means of enjoyment herself, yet she possessed gigantic powers to annoy and harass her neighbours: the French Republic marched forth the terror and dismay of the world and made every nation the theatre of her crimes: but he trusted, while the people of this country could wield a sword, or procure the sinews of war, they would not cease to oppose them. He observed, that history would be inadequate to record such a black catalogue of crimes as characteriszed France at this time. He asked, whether it was possible the recent change of government could have furnished any security against the common danger: not one of the republics which had been raised by France had continued long enough to deserve the character of stability. Against this revolutionary system what was the security offered? He could not better sum it up than in the words of the reporter (Boulay de la Meurthe) when the new constitution was recommended to the French nation at the point of the bayonet [he here read the extracts from the report.] Such had been the evidence given by Buonaparté himself against the competency of his predecessors, in whose service he

had won those victories which had procured him, too easily, the fame of unrivalled fortune. Thank heaven! that fame was now eclipsed, by the exploits of a general superior to him in fortune as in talents, and the star of Buonaparté "dims its ineffectual light" before the rising splendour of Suwarrow. Eclipsed in his military reputation, he has now commenced statesman and legislator, and has, with sudden violence and lucky temerity, effected that change in the government of France, on the merits of which, and of his own character, he grounds the possibility of negociation.

But let us see what this change has been; let us pause, and examine what is its peculiar character, what is its probable stability, what are its promised fruits. There has been a change indeed, but a change in the exterior forms rather than in reality and principle. The new government has erected itself on the same contempt of public opinion as the former governments: like the former, it is a military despotism, and differs chiefly in being more naked and undisguised; its ensign of power is the sword, and not the scepter. But this despotism, which in the former government had been shared among a few, is now concentered and united in one. This one man invites us to negociate for peace with him, and adduces his own character as an inducement! We will suppose, for a moment, that this man were a stranger to us; that this man, who comprehends in his single person all the real power of France, executive and legislative: who is the sole proposer of all laws to mock legislators, of whom he was the sole creator: who has all the military forces at his immediate disposal, and all the offices of that great empire, both civil and military, at his immediate patronage: that this man, invested with all the powers of all their directors and councils, all uncurtailed and unmodified; we will suppose, for a moment, that this man were a stranger to us: he invites us to negociation, and he offers his own character as the pledge: and he acts

consistently in this offer; for he is the sole governor of France, and on his character all depends. Before, then, we suspend our efforts; before we lay down those arms which have given us security, we may be allowed to ask, who this stranger is. But this man is no stranger to us; we know him; and what do we know of him? He tells us of his well-known pacific dispositions; and these proposals are, it seems, the second attempt, on his part, toward a general pacification! Yet we find no proposals for a general peace; he adopts the same plan as his predecessors, and still aims at separate treaties. He proposes to us to negociate; we return a cold answer, and inform him his proposals are not likely to be accepted by us at all, but that they certainly cannot be accepted by us except in concert with our Allies. Not discouraged, he makes his second application, and in this he endeavours to shift the ground of aggression; he defends the conduct of his predecessors, but still he makes no proposal for a general peace. Yet we must, per force, give him credit for his pacific dispositions and undoubted good-will toward this country! These pacific dispositions, and this good-will, we may aptly illustrate by two anecdotes: In the flush of victory, when he had even terminated the war with Austria, he addressed his soldiers as the future army of England, and proclaimed to them, that yet more glorious laurels were reserved for them: they were to pluck them on the banks of the Thames. At the same time he dispatched Monge and Berthier, his friends and confidants, to the Directory; and these, in the person of their commander, addressed that body as follows: "Citizens! we have humbled Austria: Britain remains; France and Britain are incompatible: now, then for Britain." Such were his dispositions as a pacificator!

When the constitution of the third year was established, under Barras, that constitution was imposed by the arms of Buonaparté, then commanding the army of the Triumvirate in Paris. To that constitution he then swore

fidelity: how often he has repeated the same oath I know not; but twice, at least, we know, that he has not only repeated it himself, but tendered it to others, under circumstances too striking not to be stated.

Sir, the House cannot have forgotten the revolution of the 4th of September, which produced the dismissal of Lord Malmsbury from Lisle. How was that revolution procured? it was procured chiefly by the promise of Buonaparté, in the name of his army, decidedly to support the Directory in those measures which led to the infringement and violation of every thing that the authors of the constitution of 1795, or its adherents, could consider as fundamental, and which established a system of despotism inferior only to that now realized in his own person. Immediately before this event, in the midst of the desolation and bloodshed of Italy, he had received the sacred present of new banners from the Directory: he delivered them to his army with this exhortation: "Let us swear, fellow Soldiers! by the names of the patriots who have died by our side, eternal hatred to the enemies of the Constitution of the Third Year:" that very constitution which he, soon after, enabled the Directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now, finally, destroyed! Sir, that oath was again renewed, in the midst of that very scene to which I have last referred; the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year was administered to all the members of the Assembly (then sitting under the terror of the bayonet) as the solemn preparation for the business of the day; and the morning was ushered in with swearing attachment to the constitution that the evening might close with its destruction!

If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy, at which I have only glanced, and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the Republic has made; (for I have sought in vain

for any one which it has made and which it has not broken) if we trace the history of them all, from the beginning of the Revolution to the present time, or if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the Revolution, the name of Buonaparté will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years! his name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuscany, in Rome, and in Venice.

His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a solemn proclamation, issued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with these words: "Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains; the French are the friends of the people in every country; your religion, your property, your customs, shall be respected." This was followed by a second proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and signed Buonaparté, in these terms: "Respect for property and personal security; respect for the religion of countries: these are the sentiments of the Government of the French Republic and of the Army of Italy. The victorious French consider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers." In testimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the solemn pledge of respecting property, this very Proclamation imposed on the Milanese a provisional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million sterling; and successive exactions were afterwards levied, on that single state, to the amount, in the whole, of near six millions sterling! The regard to religion and to the customs of the country was manifested with the same scrupulous fidelity: the churches were given up to indiscriminate plunder; every religious and charitable fund, every public treasure, was confiscated: the country was made the scene of every species of disorder and

rapine; the priests, the established form of worship, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly insulted by the French troops: at Pavia, particularly, the tomb of St. Augustine, which the inhabitants were accustomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced: this last provocation having roused the resentment of the people, they flew to arms, surrounded the French garrison, and took them prisoners, but carefully abstained from offering any violence to a single soldier. In revenge for this conduct, Buonaparté, then on his march to the Mincio, suddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country: he burnt the town of Benasco and massacred eight hundred of its inhabitants! he marched to Pavia, took it by storm, and delivered it over to general plunder; and published, at the same moment, a proclamation, of the 20th of May, ordering his troops to shoot all those who had not laid down their arms and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocsin* should be sounded, and to put its inhabitants to death: the transactions with Modena were on a smaller scale but in the same character. Buonaparté began by signing a treaty, by which the Duke of Modena was to pay twelve millions of livres, and neutrality was promised him in return; this was soon followed by the personal arrest of the Duke and by a fresh extortion of two hundred thousand sequins: after this he was permitted, on the payment of a farther sum, to sign another treaty, called *a Convention de Sûreté*, which, of course, was only the prelude to the repetition of similar exactions.

Nearly at the same period, in violation of the rights of neutrality, and of the treaty which had been concluded between the French Republic, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the preceding year; and in breach of a positive promise, given only a few days before, the French army forcibly took possession of Leghorn, for the purpose of seizing the British property which was deposited there,

and confiscating it as a prize; and shortly after, when Buonaparté agreed to evacuate Leghorn in return for the evacuation of the Island of Elbe, which was in the possession of the British troops, he insisted upon a separate article, by which, in addition to the plunder before obtained, by the infraction of the law of nations, it was stipulated, that the Grand Duke should pay to the French the expenses which they had incurred by thus invading his territory.

In the proceedings towards Genoa, we shall find not only a continuation of the same system of extortion and plunder, (in violation of the solemn pledge contained in the Proclamations already referred to,) but a striking instance of the revolutionary means employed for the destruction of independent governments. A French minister was at that time resident in Genoa, which was acknowledged by France to be in a state of neutrality and friendship: in breach of this neutrality Buonaparté began, in the year 1796, with the demand of a loan; he afterwards, from the month of September, required and enforced the payment of a monthly subsidy, to the amount which he thought proper to stipulate: these exactions were accompanied by repeated assurances and protestations of friendship; they were followed, in May, 1797, by a conspiracy against the government, fomented by the emissaries of the French embassy, and conducted by the partizans of France, encouraged, and afterwards protected by the French minister. The conspirators failed in their first attempt, overpowered by the courage and voluntary exertions of the inhabitants; their force was dispersed, and many of their number were arrested. Buonaparté instantly considered the defeat of the conspirators as an act of aggression against the French Republic; he dispatched an aide-de-camp with an order to the Senate of this independent state; first, to release all the French who were detained; secondly, to punish those who had arrested them; thirdly, to declare that they had had no share in the

insurrection; and, fourthly, to disarm the people. Several French prisoners were immediately released, and a Proclamation was preparing to disarm the inhabitants, when, by a second note, Buonaparté required the arrest of the three Inquisitors of State, and immediate alterations in the constitution; he accompanied this with an order to the French minister to quit Genoa, if his commands were not immediately carried into execution; at the same moment his troops entered the territory of the Republic, and shortly after the councils, intimidated and overpowered, abdicated their functions. Three deputies were then sent to Buonaparté to receive from him a new constitution; on the 6th of June, after the conferences at Montebello, he signed a convention, or rather issued a decree, by which he fixed the new form of their Government; he himself named provisionally all the members who were to compose it, and he required the payment of seven millions of livres, as the price of the subversion of their constitution, and their independence. These transactions require but one short comment; it is to be found in the official account given of them at Paris, which is in these memorable words: "General Buonaparté has pursued the only line of conduct which could be allowed in the representative of a nation, which has supported the war only to procure the solemn acknowledgment of the right of nations, to change the form of their government. He contributed nothing towards the revolution of Genoa, but he seized the first moment to acknowledge the new Government, as soon as he saw that it was the result of the wishes of the people."

It is unnecessary to dwell on the wanton attacks against Rome, under the directions of Buonaparté himself, in the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, which led, first, to the treaty of Tolentino concluded by Buonaparté, in which, by enormous sacrifices, the Pope was allowed to purchase the acknowledgment of his authority as a Sovereign Prince; and, secondly, to the violation of that

very treaty, and to the subversion of the Papal authority by Joseph Buonaparté, the brother and the agent of the General, and the minister of the French Republic to the Holy See. A transaction, accompanied by outrages and insults towards the pious and venerable Pontiff (in spite of the sanctity of his age and the unsullied purity of his character) which, even to a Protestant, seem hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege!

But of all the disgusting and tragical scenes which took place in Italy, in the course of the period I am describing, those which passed at Venice are perhaps the most striking, and the most characteristic. In May, 1796, the French army, under Buonaparté, in the full tide of its success against the Austrians, first approached the territories of this Republic, which, from the commencement of the war, had observed a rigid neutrality. Their entrance on these territories was, as usual, accompanied by a solemn Proclamation, in the name of their general.—"Buonaparté to the Republic of Venice. It is to deliver the finest country in Europe, from the iron yoke of the proud House of Austria, that the French army have braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Victory, in union with justice, has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired behind the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, passes over the territory of the Republic of Venice; but it will never forget, that ancient friendship unites the two Republics. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected. That the people may be without apprehension, the most severe discipline shall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army shall be faithfully paid for in money. The general in chief engages the officers of the Republic of Venice, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known these sentiments to the people, in order, that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations, faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French soldiers is terrible

only to the enemies of his liberty and his government."—Buonaparté.

This Proclamation was followed by exactions similar to those which were practised against Genoa, by the renewal of similar professions of friendship, and the use of similar means to excite insurrection. At length, in the spring of 1797, occasion was taken, from disturbances thus excited, to forge, in the name of the Venetian Government, a Proclamation, hostile to France, and this proceeding was made the ground for military execution against the country, and for effecting by force the subversion of its ancient government, and the establishment of the democratic forms of the French revolution. This revolution was sealed by a treaty, signed in May, 1797, between Buonaparté, and commissioners appointed on the part of the new and revolutionary government of Venice. By the second and third secret articles of this treaty, Venice agreed to give as a ransom, to secure itself against all farther exactions or demands, the sum of three millions of livres in money, the value of three millions more in articles of naval supply, and three ships of the line; and it received in return the assurances of the friendship and support of the French Republic. Immediately after the signature of this treaty, the arsenal, the library, and the palace of St. Mark, were ransacked and plundered, and heavy additional contributions were imposed upon its inhabitants. And, in not more than four months afterwards, this very Republic of Venice, united by alliance to France, the creature of Buonaparté himself, from whom it had received the present of French liberty, was, by the same Buonaparté, transferred, under the treaty of Campo Formio, to "that iron yoke of the proud House of Austria," to deliver it from which, he had represented in his first Proclamation to be the great object of all his operations.

Sir, all this is followed by the memorable expedition into Egypt, which I mention, not merely because it forms

a principle article in the catalogue of those acts of violence and perfidy in which Buonaparté has been engaged; not merely because it was an enterprize peculiarly his own, of which he was himself the planner, the executor, and the betrayer; but chiefly, because, when from thence he retires to a different scene, to take possession of a new throne, from which he is to speak upon an equality with the Kings and Governors of Europe; he leaves behind him, at the moment of his departure, a specimen which cannot be mistaken, of his principles of negociation. The Intercepted Correspondence, which has been alluded to in this debate, seems to afford the strongest ground to believe, that his offers to the Turkish Government to evacuate Egypt, were made solely with a view "to gain time;" that the ratification of any treaty on this subject, was to be delayed, with the view of finally eluding its performance, if any change of circumstances, favourable to the French, should occur in the interval. But whatever gentlemen may think of the intention with which these offers were made, there will, at least, be no question with respect to the credit due to those professions by which he endeavoured to prove, in Egypt, his pacific dispositions. He expressly enjoins his successors, strongly and steadily to insist in all his intercourse with the Turks, that he came to Egypt with no hostile design, and that he never meant to keep possession of the country; while, on the opposite page of the same instructions, he states in the most unequivocal manner, his regret at the discomfiture of his favourite project of colonizing Egypt, and of maintaining it as a territorial acquisition. Now, Sir, if in any note addressed to the Grand Vizier, or the Sultan, Buonaparté had claimed credit for the sincerity of his professions, that he forcibly invaded Egypt with no view hostile to Turkey, and solely for the purpose of molesting the British interests; is there any one argument now used to induce us to believe his present professions to us, which might not have been equally urged on that occasion

on to the Turkish government? would not those professions have been equally supported by solemn asseveration, by the same reference which is now made to personal character, with this single difference, that they would then have been accompanied with one instance less of that perfidy which we have had occasion to trace in this very transaction.

It is unnecessary to say more with respect to the credit due to his professions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character: but it will, perhaps, be argued, that whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That he has an interest in making peace, is, at best, but a doubtful proposition; and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate I do not indeed deny; it is his interest, above all, to engage this country in separate negotiation, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the Continent; to palsy, at once, the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to you for support; and then, either to break off his separate treaty, or, if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims of indemnification which may have been reserved to some happier period. War is the only possible mean of his permanence; his hold upon France is on the sword. He is connected neither with the soil of France nor the hearts of Frenchmen: a foreigner, a fugitive, and a usurper, alike detested by the Republicans and the Royalists, he appeals to his fortune, that is, to his soldiers and his sword. He cannot afford to let his military fame die away; with no end but ambition, no passion but a criminal glory, he must groan to regain his laurels, which our gallant countrymen had plucked from his brow before the walls of Acre; and, probably, a treaty is desirable to him,

as furnishing an opportunity of landing an army in Ireland, and there to keep the treaty with his wonted good faith, at the head of an army. I have ever understood, that, of all governments, a military despotism was in its nature the least stable. No government can long stand that is not built on the public opinion: the follies and enormities of the French Revolution have fixed and made firm on this public opinion all the other governments of Europe; men have been taught to feel blessings and perceive advantages by the fearful contrast.

What then is the inference I draw? in no case to treat with Buonaparté? By no means: the concerns of nations, and, above all, those of peace and war are not to be reasoned upon by extremes. But, were all presumption is against a man we ought not to wait for new evidence in his favour; where all the facts hitherto tend to suspicion or grievance, we are entitled, we are compelled, to demand the evidence of new facts, and not to relax in our exertions till they have been afforded to us. There are few facts, I acknowledge, that would be of sufficient importance to weigh against our former experience; but every thing depends on degree and comparison. If different maxims be assumed and acted upon in France; if the effects of the arms of the Allies should delude our present well grounded expectations; if the hopes of substituting the ancient government should become less; in short, if the risk decrease, and the success diminish; then I promise, for myself and my colleagues, that we shall not remain uninfluenced, and shall regulate our advice to our Sovereign accordingly.

But, Sir, there are some gentlemen in the House who seem to consider it already certain, that the ultimate success to which I am looking is unattainable: they suppose us contending only for the restoration of the French Monarchy, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be desirable for this country. We have been asked, in the course of this debate, "Do you think you can im-

pose monarchy upon France against the will of the nation?" I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it. I have thought, I have hoped, I have wished, that the time might come when the effects of the arms of the Allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and scope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants. We have, indeed, already seen abundant proofs of what is the disposition of a large part of the country; we have seen, almost through the whole of the revolution, the Western provinces of France deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, obstinately contending for their ancient laws and religion; we have recently seen, in the revival of that war, fresh proof of the zeal which still animates those countries in the same cause. These efforts (I state it distinctly, and there are those near me who can bear witness to the truth of the assertion) were not produced by any instigation from hence; they were the effects of a rooted sentiment prevailing through all those provinces, forced into action by the Law of the Hostages and the other tyrannical measures of the Directory, at the moment when we were endeavouring to discourage so hazardous an enterprize. If, under such circumstances, we find them giving proofs of their unalterable perseverance in their principles; if there is every reason to believe that the same disposition prevails in many other extensive provinces of France: if every party appears, at length, equally wearied and disappointed with all the successive changes which the Revolution has produced; if the question is no longer between monarchy, and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper, on the other; if the armies of that usurper are likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced, at length, to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real feeling and disposition; what reason have we to anticipate,

that the restoration of monarchy, under such circumstances, is impracticable?

The Learned Gentleman (Mr. Erskine,) has, indeed, told us, that almost every man now possessed of property in France, must necessarily be interested in resisting such a change; and that, therefore, it never can be effected. If that single consideration were conclusive against the possibility of a change, for the same reason the Revolution itself, by which the whole property of the country was taken from its ancient possessors, could never have taken place. But though I deny it to be an insuperable obstacle, I admit it to be a point of considerable delicacy and difficulty. It is not indeed for us to discuss minutely, what arrangement might be formed on this point to conciliate and unite opposite interests; but whoever considers the precarious tenure and depreciated value of lands held under the revolutionary title, and the low price for which they have generally been obtained, will think it, perhaps, not impossible that an ample compensation might be made to the bulk of the present possessors, both for the purchase money they have paid and for the actual value of what they now enjoy; and that the ancient proprietors might be reinstated in the possession of their former rights, with only such a temporary sacrifice as reasonable men would willingly make to obtain so essential an object.

The Honourable and Learned Gentleman, however, has supported his reasoning on this part of the subject by an argument, which he undoubtedly considers as unanswerable—a reference to what would be his own conduct in similar circumstances; and he tells us that every landed proprietor in France must support the present order of things in that country from the same motive that he, and every proprietor of three per cent. stock, would join in the defence of the constitution of Great Britain. I must do the Learned Gentleman the justice to believe that the habits of his profession must supply him with better

and nobler motives for defending a constitution, which he has had so much occasion to study and examine, than any which he can derive from the value of his proportion, (however large) of three per cents, even supposing them to continue to increase in price as rapidly as they have done during the last three years, in which the security and property of the country has been established by following a system directly opposite to the counsels of the Learned Gentleman and his friends.

The Learned Gentleman's illustration, however, though it fails with respect to himself, is happily and aptly applied to the state of France; and let us see what inference it furnishes with respect to the probable attachment of monied men to the continuance of the revolutionary system, as well as with respect to the general state of public credit in that country. I do not indeed know that there exists precisely any fund of three per cents in France, to furnish a test for the patriotism and public spirit of the lovers of French liberty. But there is another fund which may equally answer our purpose—the capital of three per cent. stock, which formerly existed in France, has undergone a whimsical operation, similar to many other expedients of finance which we have seen in the course of the revolution—this was performed by a decree, which, as they termed it, *republicanised* their debt; that is, in other words, struck off, at once, two-thirds of the capital, and left the proprietors to take their chance for the payment of interest on the remainder! this remnant was afterwards converted into the present five per cent stock. I had the curiosity, very lately, to inquire what price it bore in the market, and I was told that the price had somewhat risen from confidence in the new government, and was actually as high as *seventeen*. I really, at first, supposed that my informer meant seventeen years purchase for every pound of interest, and I began to be almost jealous of revolutionary credit; but I soon found that he literally meant seventeen pounds for every hun-

dred pounds capital stock of five per cent.; that is, a little more than three and a half years purchase! So much for the value of revolutionary property, and for the attachment with which it must inspire its possessors towards the system of government to which that value is to be ascribed!

On the question, Sir, how far the restoration of the French monarchy, if practicable, is desirable, I shall not think it necessary to say much. Can it be supposed to be indifferent to us, or to the world, whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the House of Bourbon, or by him whose principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develope? is it nothing, with a view to influence and example, whether the fortune of this last Adventurer in the lottery of revolutions shall appear to be permanent? is it nothing, whether a system shall be sanctioned, which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, that general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors, which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice, and which has furnished the great source of revolutionary finance and revolutionary strength against all the powers of Europe?

In the exhausted and impoverished state of France, it seems, for a time, impossible that any system but that of robbery and confiscation, any thing but the continued torture, which can be applied only by the engines of the revolution, can extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of supporting in peace the yearly expenditure of its government. Suppose, then, the heir of the house of Bourbon reinstated on the throne, he will have sufficient occupation in endeavouring, if possible, to heal the wounds, and gradually to repair the losses of ten years of civil convulsion; to re-animate the drooping commerce, to rekindle the industry, to replace the capital, and to revive the manufactures of the country. Under such circumstances, there must, probably, be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever may be his

views, can possess the power which can make him formidable to Europe; but, while the system of the revolution continues, the case is quite different. It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired; the influence of its principles, and the terror of its arms so far weakened; and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed; that, against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance.

But, supposing the confederacy of Europe prematurely dissolved, supposing our armies disbanded, our fleets laid up in our harbours, our exertions relaxed, and our means of precaution and defence relinquished; do we believe that the revolutionary power, with this rest and breathing-time given it to recover from the pressure under which it is now sinking, possessing still the means of calling suddenly and violently into action whatever is the remaining physical force of France, under the guidance of military despotism; do we believe that this revolutionary power, the terror of which is now beginning to vanish, will not again prove formidable to Europe? Can we forget, that in the ten years, in which that power has subsisted, it has brought more misery on surrounding nations, and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition, than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed since the foundation of its monarchy, including all the wars, which, in the course of that period, have been waged by any of those sovereigns, whose projects of aggrandisement and violations of treaty afford a constant theme of general reproach against the ancient government of France? and if not, can we hesitate whether we have the best prospect of permanent peace, the best security for the independence and safety of Europe from the restoration of the lawful government, or from the

continuance of revolutionary power in the hands of Buonaparté?

In compromise and treaty with such a power, placed in such hands as now exercise it, and retaining the same means of annoyance which it now possesses, I see little hope of permanent security. I see no possibility, at this moment, of such a peace as would justify that liberal intercourse which is the essence of real amity, no chance of terminating the expenses or the anxieties of war or of restoring to us any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and, as a sincere lover of peace, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment; I must be desirous of pursuing that system which promises to attain, in the end, the permanent enjoyment of its solid and substantial blessings for this country and for Europe. As a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the reality is not substantially within my reach:

Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.

If, Sir, in all that I have now offered to the House, I have succeeded in establishing the proposition, that the system of the French Revolution has been such as to afford to foreign powers no adequate ground for security in negociation, and that the change which has recently taken place has not yet afforded that security; if I have laid before you a just statement of the nature and extent of the danger with which we have been threatened, it would remain only short to consider, whether there is any thing in the circumstances of the present moment to induce us to accept a security confessedly inadequate against a danger of such a description.

It will be necessary here to say a few words on the subject on which Gentlemen have been so fond of dwelling; I mean our former negociations, and particularly that at Lisle, in 1797. I am desirous of stating, frankly and openly, the true motives which induced me to concur in

then recommending negociation; and I will leave it to the House and to the country to judge whether our conduct at that time was inconsistent with the principles by which we are guided at present. That revolutionary policy, which I have endeavoured to describe, that gigantic system of prodigality and bloodshed, by which the efforts of France were supported, and which counts for nothing the lives and the property of a nation, had, at that period, driven us to exertions which had, in a great measure, exhausted the ordinary means of defraying our immense expenditure, and had led many of those who were the most convinced of the original justice and necessity of the war, and of the danger of Jacobin principles, to doubt the possibility of persisting in it till complete and adequate security could be obtained. There seemed too much reason to believe, that, without some new measure to check the rapid accumulation of debt, we could no longer trust to the stability of that funding system, by which the nation had been enabled to support the expense of all the different wars in which we have engaged in the course of the present century. In order to continue our exertions with vigour, it became necssary that a new and solid system of finance should be established, such as could not be rendered effectual but by the general and decided concurrence of public opinion; such a concurrence in the strong and vigorous measures necessary for the purpose could not then be expected, but from satisfying the country, by the strongest and most decided proofs, that peace, on terms in any degree admissible, was unattainable.

Under this impression, we thought it our duty to attempt negociation, not from the sanguine hope, even at that time, that its result could afford us complete security, but from the persuasion, that the danger arising from peace, under such circumstances, was less than that of continuing the war with precarious and inadequate means.

The result of those negociations proved, that the enemy would be satisfied with nothing less than the sacrifice of the honour and independence of the country. From this conviction a spirit and enthusiasm was excited in the nation, which produced the efforts to which we are indebted for the subsequent change in our situation. Having witnessed that happy change, having observed the increasing prosperity and security of the country from that period, seeing how much more satisfactory our prospects now are than any which we could then have derived from the successful result of negociation; I have not scrupled to declare, that I consider the rupture of the negociation on the part of the enemy as a fortunate circumstance for the country. But, because these are my sentiments at this time, after reviewing what has since passed, does it follow that we were, at that time, insincere in endeavouring to obtain peace? the Learned Gentleman, indeed, assumes that we were, and he even makes a concession, of which I desire not to claim the benefit: he is willing to admit, that, on our principles, and our view of the subject, insincerity would have been justifiable. I know, Sir, no plea that would justify those who are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs in holding out to Parliament and to the nation one object while they were, in fact, pursuing another. I did, in fact, believe, at the moment, the conclusion of peace (if it could have been obtained) to be preferable to the continuance of the war, under its increasing risks and difficulties; I therefore wished for peace, I sincerely laboured for peace: our endeavours were frustrated by the act of the enemy. If, then, the circumstances are since changed, if what passed at that period has afforded a proof that the object we aimed at was unattainable; and if all that has passed since has proved, that, if peace had been then made, it could not have been durable; are we bound to repeat the same experiment, when every reason against it is strength-

ened by subsequent experience, and when the inducements which led to it at that time have ceased to exist?

When we consider the resources and the spirit of the country, can any man doubt, that, if adequate security is not now to be obtained by treaty, we have the means of prosecuting the contest without material difficulty or danger, and with a reasonable prospect of completely attaining our object? I will not dwell on the improved state of public credit, on the continually increasing amount (in spite of extraordinary temporary burdens) of our permanent revenue, on the yearly accession of wealth, to an extent unprecedented even in the most flourishing times of peace, which we are deriving, in the midst of war, from our extended and flourishing commerce; on the progressive improvement and growth of our manufactures; on the proofs which we see on all sides of the uninterrupted accumulation of productive capital; and on the active exertion of every branch of national industry, which can tend to support and augment the population, the riches and the power of the country. As little need I recall your attention to the additional means of action which we have derived from the great augmentation of our disposable military force, the continued triumphs of our powerful and victorious navy, and the events which, in the course of the last two years, have contributed to raise the military ardour and glory of the country to a height unexampled during any period of our history.

In addition to these grounds of reliance on our own strength and exertions, we have seen the consummate skill and valour of the arms of our Allies proved, by that series of unexampled success in the course of the last campaign; and we have every reason to expect a co-operation on the Continent, even to a greater extent, in the course of the present year. If we compare this view of our own situation with everything we can observe of the state and condition of our enemy; if we can trace him labouring under equal difficulty in finding men to

recruit his army, or money to pay it; if we know, that, in the course of the last year, the most rigorous efforts of military conscription were scarcely sufficient to replace to the French armies, at the end of the campaign, the numbers which they had lost in the course of it; if we have seen that that force, then in possession of advantages which it has since lost, was unable to contend with the efforts of the Combined Armies; if we know, that, even while supported by the plunder of all the countries which they had over-run, those armies were reduced, by the confession of their commanders, to the extremity of distress, and destitute not only of the principal articles of military supply, but almost of the necessaries of life; if we see them now driven back within their own frontiers, and confined within a country, whose own resources have, long since, been proclaimed, by their successive governments, to be unequal either to paying or maintaining them; if we observe, that, since the last revolution, no one substantial or effectual measure has been adopted to remedy the intolerable disorder of their finances and to supply the deficiency of their credit and resources; if we see, through large and populous districts of France, either open war levied against the present usurpation, or evident marks of disunion and distraction, which the first occasion may call forth into a flame; if I say, Sir, this comparison be just, I feel myself authorized to conclude from it, not that we are entitled to consider ourselves certain of ultimate success; not that we are to suppose ourselves exempted from the unforeseen vicissitudes of war; but, that, considering the value of the object for which we are contending, the means for supporting the contest, and the probable course of human events, we should be inexcusable, if, at this moment, we were to relinquish the struggle on any grounds short of entire and complete security: that from perseverance in our efforts, under such circumstances, we have the fairest reason to expect the full attainment of our object; but that, at all

events, even if we are disappointed in our more sanguine hopes, we are more likely to gain than to lose by the continuation of the contest: that every month to which it is continued, even if it should not in its effects lead to the final destruction of the Jacobin system, must tend so far to weaken and exhaust it, as to give us, at least, a greater comparative security in any termination of the war: that, on all these grounds, this is not the moment at which it is consistent with our interest or our duty to listen to any proposals of negociation with the present Ruler of France; but that we are not, therefore, pledged to any unalterable determination as to our future conduct, that in this we must be regulated by the course of events; and that it will be the duty of his Majesty's ministers, from time to time, to adapt their measures to any variation of circumstances, and to consider how far the effects of the military operations of the Allies, or of the internal disposition of France, correspond with our present expectations.

Mr. Fox rose next: he began by saying, that the hour was too late, the House too much exhausted, for him to undertake to follow the Right honourable Gentleman into all the detail of circumstances which formed the past causes of the war and constitued the proofs of the first aggression. The present, as his Honourable Friend, Mr. Erskine, had said, formed a new era in the war, and it was infinitely of more importance, in the present moment, to inquire into the use which ought to be made of the overtures of negociation than to discuss which of the two parties was the aggressor. The Right honourable Gentleman, however, had occupied a very long time in going over all these topics, which he had often before, too successfully, pressed on the House, and by which he had drawn them into an approbation of his measures. In this new era of the war, when we were again come to the favourable point so anxiously desired, when negociation was offered us, were we to be told, that we ought to hold out because there were appearances that promised us suc-

cess! Gracious God! after being told, five years ago, that France was so completely sunk into the gulph of bankruptcy, that it was an argument against treating for peace, that they might not have an opportunity to recruit their finances again to molest us; and, after seeing the gigantic efforts they had made since this pretended ruin, were we again to be deluded with reports of favourable appearances, as an argument against negociation? He lamented, in common with every generous friend to peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which was held in the answer to the proposition, as well as in that House. He remembered with pleasure the language of Lord Malmsbury, at Paris, in answer to the haughty and improper terms used by La Croix—that reproachful language was not the way by which two nations could approach one another toward reconciliation. For this reason, also, he must lament that the Right honourable Gentleman thought it necessary to go with such minuteness into the early circumstances of the war. He certainly did not agree with him in several of his assertions: he still continued to think that this country was the aggressor; and that Austria and Prussia were aggressors was a fact which no clear and impartial mind could, for a moment, hesitate to believe. It would be in vain for the Right honourable Gentleman to set up long and ingenious reasonings against the evidence of document which were in every one's hand, and which demonstrated, beyond all refutation, that not only the unfortunate Monarch himself, and his confidential advisers, had entered into negociations with foreign powers, and to partition France, but to dictate, by force of arms, to France, and to compel them to depart from the system which they thought necessary to their own internal happiness. The treaty of Pavia, as it has been called, may have been a forgery, and, if you please, (said Mr. Fox) a nonentity: but are gentlemen prepared to deny the truth of the declaration made by the Emperor at Mantua? are gentle-

men prepared to deny the story as it is related by M. Bertrand de Moleville? is it true, that neither this nor the declaration of Pilnitz were treaties for the partition of France? But what is the exact nature of the latter of these? Austria and Prussia declare themselves resolved to attack France and force the French people to restore their ancient kings, as soon as the other princes shall concur with them in the laudable design: is not this aggression? Suppose that any powers should make a similar declaration against England, and should say, "We mean to attack you, but not yet; we wait for a certain occasion, which will soon occur, and then our resolution against you is taken." Or, suppose that such a convention as this should be made in the dark, and kept secret from the power against which it is directed; will any reasonable man say that this is not in the nature of an aggression? Ah! but the decree of the 19th of November, 1792, was a direct insult to all thrones, and to England among the rest. I do not much regard the insanity of general insults thrown out, like this, against all states: but did not M. Chauvelin attempt to give an explanation of this decree? yes; but it was not satisfactory. Did they say so to him? when they dismissed him did they alledge this as a reason, or give him an opportunity of rendering a more sufficient explanation? no such thing. Did you hold out to the French what terms would have been satisfactory to you, and what would have prevailed upon you to preserve your line of neutrality? I contend, that when a nation refuses to state the things which would satisfy her she shews no ardent nor honest desire of peace. You now assert, that the claim set up by France respecting the Scheldt was a source of quarrel: did you say so at the time? The Right honourable Gentleman has this day presented, for the first time, the copy of a dispatch, written about the time to the court of Petersburgh. I most perfectly approve of this Paper; it was excellent as a composition: it wanted only to be acted

upon. If this dispatch had been communicated to Paris instead of Petersburg; if you had told the French with candour what you complained of, what you expected, and what you should think it necessary to do for your own security, in case they did not give you the satisfaction required, you would have acted with fairness, and they would have had no power of fixing upon you the charge of being the aggressor. But no notice was given to France whatever, and M. Chauvelin was dismissed in a way which constituted an absolute declaration of war. Do gentlemen forget that a treaty subsisted by which it was positively stipulated, that the dismissal of a minister from the court of either of the parties was to be regarded by the other as tantamount to a declaration of war? This provision had been introduced in consequence of a dispute about the point of declaration.

That Prussia felt that, in her declaration of war against France, she was the aggressor, is proved by one circumstance pretty clearly; viz. that, notwithstanding our defensive treaty with Prussia, by which, if either side were attacked, she could demand the stipulated defensive aid from the other, no demand was made on England for this aid, because, obviously, it was a case which did not come within the line of the treaty, and which, therefore, did not warrant them to make the demand. In the same manner, that Austria was in a hostile posture against France is manifested from this; that they complained of the internal state of France, not of the external ambition. In all this, said Mr. Fox, I am not justifying their conduct, either internal or external. I think them both as bad and as execrable as the human heart can coceive. It was not to be expected that French rulers could have been so long under the conduct of the race of Bourbon without imbibing the restless ambition, the perfidy, the falsehood, of that cabinet.—They followed the practice of their great Prototype; and my complaint is, that you should expect from them no better, more moral, or more

honourable conduct than you had been accustomed to meet with from the House of Bourbon. It is said, that wherever they have gone they have introduced revolution —they have propagated their rights of man. What did Louis XIV.? did he not, in every country which he overran, establish his chamber of claims, by which, whatever claims the country might have upon any other tract, he made them his own, and acted upon them? But when the Confederates came to talk of the manner of restoring the peace of Europe, and that the triple alliance was formed, what was the language of that great and honest man De Witt? did he say, that because many parts of his conquests were obtained contrary to all justice and right, that therefore they should not treat with him, or that they should not consent even to leave him part of what he had so infamously acquired? In like manner, it may be said, that though the French seized on Savoy they seized on it on Bourbon principles. Hume, the historian, whose greatest fault is the childish love of princes, speaks of the good fortune and bad fortune of Louis XIV: he reckons, among the instances of his bad fortune, that he never once hit upon a justifiable cause of war. This may be said, perhaps, of the Republic of France. Her pretence for the seizing of Savoy was quite in the Bourbon principle; they took it, they said, on account of the *convenance morales et physiques.* There was nothing then in the nature of the atrocities of France which we and which Europe had not been accustomed to in the uniform practices of the French court; and, as we had never disdained to treat with the princes on account of their perfidy, and ambition, and violations, so we ought not to have refused to treat with republican France when the monarch requested us to mediate between the country and the German courts.

He objected in like manner, to all the pretended and hypocritical sensibilities, about which we had made such

parade. If he knew any thing of the genuine doctrines of Christianity, there was not to be found, in the New Testament, the rule, the sentiment, the justification, of a war for the cause of religion; it was blasphemous impiety and hypocrisy to presume to call war by such a name: nor would it be possible for any war to be concluded if nations were incessantly to recur to the first causes. He had lately met, in reading, with the account of a battle between two nations, in which almost all the combatants on both sides were killed; and it was said to be owing to this; that, though they had offensive weapons on both sides, they had none for defence. So, if, in this war of words, reproaches only are to be used, and nothing conciliatory, the battle must be eternal. If the atrocious conduct of the French was to be noticed, must we not also refer to the atrocities of our Allies? The three powers which confederated against Poland, and annihilated that independent people, were all our Allies for this war of social order! and if Buonaparté was not to be treated with on account of the cruelties of his conduct, what should we think of leaguing ourselves with the general who commited the indiscriminate horrors at Warsaw! that worthy man! "who exceeded the other in discipline as much as in virtue!" If their trampling on the weak powers was a crime, did it not also belong to ourselves and to the Allies? was it not his relation, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who was first commanded to invite the Swiss to depart from their neutrality? The pretended Letter of Lord Hervey to the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been denied, but he believed that there was certain ground to believe, that he went into the Grand Duke's closet, laid his watch upon the table, and peremptorily demanded, that he should, in a certain number of minutes, dismiss the French minister and French people! Lord Hervey was recalled; but was the principle recalled? did it not drive him into unwilling war? The conduct of M. Drake to Genoa was the same. The perfidy of the French to the

Venetians was atrocious; but it had been justly asked, by his Honourable Friend, was not the receiver as bad as the thief? The conduct of Austria in this instance reminded him of the pretext for the slave trade: "I did not make this father of a family, this son, this brother, a slave; I bought him with my money: I did not entice him away, either for witchcraft or obie of any kind, but I have a *quid pro quo*." So the Emperor may say: "I bought these people in the way of trade; I delivered over half a million of human beings into slavery in another place: this is my indemnity!" And this, said Mr. Fox, ought to be one of the chief and most crying objections to this war: for in this horrible traffic in human flesh, white and black, there has been more of this scandal committed, and it leads to this diabolical outrage more than any other war that ever existed.

He then answered the argument, that France had roused all Europe against her by her crimes. Have you not (said he) then succeeded in rousing any part of Europe by your money, by your seductions? it argues but little for your address if you have not; but, I dare say, the truth lies between you: between their crimes and your money the rage has been excited. Did France assail Russia? has the magnanimous Paul taken the field for the maintenance of religion and social order on account of personal outrage? He has declared himself Grand Master of Malta, notwithstanding his religion is as opposite as ours to the faith of the Knights: and what is his conduct to Denmark and to Spain? He then animadverted on the different attempts at negociation which had been made in 1796 and 1797, and particularly reasoned on Mr. Pitt's assertion, that he apprehended danger from the success of the negociation, but it was the unequivocal opinion of the people of England, at that time, that they ought to treat. I thought so (said Mr. Fox) but it was denied; it is now fairly acknowledged. It was then imputed to me, that I did not speak the sense of the

people; it now turns out that I did: and I speak it now, when I say that you ought equally to treat at this time. He put this into various strong points of view, and said, the vigour they produced by that measure ought to convince them, that they could only rouse the spirit of the people by shewing an anxity for peace. But ministers said they had not refused discussion: they had put a case, the restoration of the House of Bourbon. He was not a man to bear heavy on unfortunate princes, but he could not recollect the history of this country and wish for their return to power. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Canning) had alluded to what had fallen from a noble Duke, in another place, respecting the publication of the intercepted letters. He had spoken of a person of the finest understanding, and of a most honourable person, in terms which shewed himself possessed of an intellect, which he would excuse him if he should not notice any thing that fell from him. The noble Duke did not object to the publication but to the manner; as, in the introduction and notes to those intercepted letters there was a ribaldry which could not be endured by any feeling mind, on account of its excessive stupidity. He had accused the noble Duke for saying that the present scarcity was owing to the war; if the noble Duke had said so he would be justified, when it was recollected that grain was sold at this time in France at less than one half the price which it bears here! a circumstance which shews, that, were it not for the war, we should have a supply of it in our markets. This new mode of answering in this House observations made in another was rather odd, considering the phalanx they had there. But, indeed, even this Honourable Gentleman might be sent there with as much propriety as others they had so honoured.

He then came to the argument of Mr. Pitt, that he had negociated in the year 1797, because he wished to gain the people to a more vigorous system of finance, which could only prosper by their unanimity: having,

then, gained his end, it was no longer necessary for him to pretend to negociate. He might be honest in his views of getting his system advanced and honest in thinking that success in the negociation would have been dangerous; but he was not quite honest to the country in the means he had thus taken to obtain their consent. He came then to the position of Mr. Pitt, that though they had declared that the restoration of monarchy would be the best security, there were four other predicaments in which they would think it right to treat with Buonanaparté: 1 If he should conduct himself so as to shew that he had abandoned the principles which were objectionable. 2. If the people of France should shew a disposition to acquiesce in his power more than they now expected. 3. If the armies of the Allies should be less successful than was looked for: and, 4. If the pressure of the war should be heavier upon us than it was convenient to continue to bear: on the fallacy and weakness of which possible cases he reasoned at length.

Suppose ministers were now inclined to pursue the same line of conduct which they adopted in 1796 and 1797; suppose they were now again disposed to enter into negociation; I would ask the House, I would ask each individual member who composed it, whether, if the conduct of ministers were the very contrary of what it now is, and that they had given a different answer to the overtures of the enemy, that answer would be reprobated by the House? would the House treat their willingness to listen to these overtures as rash and precipitate? on the contrary, would they not thank them for it, as consulting the interests,and acquiescing in the wishes of the people? So confident am I that a pacific disposition on the part of ministers would meet the general approbation of the House, that I would ask on the present question only the votes of those, who, if the answer brought down by ministers was of a pacific tendency, would have cheerfully voted for it, and certain I am that I should then have a

greater majority on my side than I have ever been honoured with in this House. Yes, Sir, if the language of ministers breathed a spirit of peace on the present occasion, your benches would resound with rejoicings, and with praises of a measure that was likely to restore the blessings of tranquillity. There might be a few persons present, who, perhaps, would not vote with me on that occasion: of this, however, there might be some reason to doubt. But there was a noble lord in the other House (Lord Fitzwilliam) whose consistency of character and principle would not allow him to vote for an address different from that now proposed. Of that noble lord's disposition I think, however, as highly as any man, though I differ from him in politics.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to censure the manner in which the speech of the Right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) endeavoured to inflame the passions of the House, by the picture he drew of the internal state of France, and by the acrimonious invectives with which he assailed the character of General Buonaparté. He must deprecate, he said, such invectives, though he was as far as any man from endeavouring to defend the conduct or the principles of the French Consul. He was not sufficiently in possession of the necessary grounds on which to form a just opinion of that extraordinary man. Buonaparté on his arrival found France in an unsettled state; he thought it necessary to reform her government, and he reformed it in the manner in which most military men would be inclined to do, by assuming the whole of the power to himself. Much indignation was expressed at the military despotism exercised by Buonaparté. How that House should be so violently indignant at the exercise of military despotism he was at a loss to conceive; was it not the system lately, and still pursued, in the sister kingdom? there it was in the power of Government to declare martial law, by which the persons and the property of the inhabitants were left at the mercy of military

commanders. This was the way in which the free unbiassed sense of the people was to be taken respecting the proposed legislative Union! Those, surely, who assented to such a mode of collecting the sense of the nation should not be very loud in their railings against military despotism.—But it was objected to Buonaparté, that he swore to maintain that very constitution which he had lately destroyed. It would be good, perhaps, to lay aside all such oaths; there were those whose overheated zeal for monarchy had induced to stigmatize as traitors and rebels who spoke and acted against Charles II. But though they had taken the oath of allegiance it was not supposed that the country was perjured on account of their conduct. Was the Earl of Devonshire perjured on account of the part he took in that reign because he had taken the oath of allegiance to the House of Stuart? would France now perjure herself if her inhabitants consented to the restoration of the House of Bourbon?

After the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is said, that some confidential officer of Buonaparté asserted it to be that general's opinion, that the French Republic and the Government of Great Britain could not exist together—it was not certain whether any such assertion had ever been made; but, suppose it had, was it not strange that we could never put ourselves in the place of the enemy? How might they not interpret many of the speeches delivered in both houses of Parliament, and even some of those put in the mouth of his Majesty himself! might not they find in many of these speeches pretty broad assertions that the existence of the French Republic was incompatible with that of the English constitution? Are then these pretences for mutual recrimination and animosity eternally to be reciprocated? as long as we are successful are we to continue to urge the crimes and iniquities of the French Revolution as a barrier to all pacification? and, as often as we are unfortunate and defeated, are we then only to attempt negociation? Would

not this lead to an interminable war? would not such a conduct fly in the face of all our old prejudices, and make us regard warfare as a natural state, and peace only a state of doubt, suspicion, and distrust? Did the different treaties concluded with Louis XIV. tend to render that monarch less ambitious? at the time of these treaties we spoke as freely and as harshly of the unprincipled ambition of that tyrant as we now speak of that of Buonaparté. And what was the security which we derived from these treaties against the projects of aggression and aggrandizement entertained and acted upon by that aspiring monarch? what security did we even obtain for the ambitious views of the French court by the peace concluded in 1783, in which the Right honourable Gentleman bore himself a part? did not the French court, shortly after that treaty, endeavour to concert, with the Dutch Republic, the means of attacking our India possessions, in the same manner as Buonaparté has lately meditated their destruction? After the conclusion of that peace the administration who concluded it went out; and he, among, other gentlemen, came into office. Suppose he had refused to sign that treaty, when, upon examination, he found that France was acting a perfidious part, and was actually in treaty to commence a fresh attack upon the British dominions at the time the treaty alluded to was signed; would the Right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) support him in that refusal? surely. Yet the same arguments would justify him in withholding his approbation, that the Right honourable Gentleman now urges in justification of his own refusal to enter into negociation. But it is not, we are told, the interest of Buonaparté sincerely to negociate, or, if he negociates and concludes a treaty, it is not his interest to observe it. The return of peace would not be friendly to his military despotism. What! had not Augustus Cæsar established a military despotism which lasted 600 years, and, though half of the Roman Emperors were murdered, did not the

military despotism survive? If history was consulted, would it not be found that the despots changed, but that the despotism continued unimpaired? If Buonaparté disappeared from the scene to make room for a Berthier, what difference would there be produced in our situation? might we not as safely treat with the one or the other, as with a Louis XVI. XVII. or XVIII? It was wrong to look too narrowly into the character of individuals in power with whom we may be obliged to treat. However it might be asserted to the contrary, it was evidently the interest of Buonaparté to make peace; a lover, as that general unquestionably was of military glory, yet he must be sensible that the splendour of his former triumph must be tarnished by defeat; he could no longer depend upon his own fortune or his own abilities for the continuance of his victorious career: he would be under the necessity of employing other generals; whose misconduct or incapacity might compromise and endanger his power; besides, he must be sensible that France required a respite, a breathing interval, to close and heal her wounds, and to re-create her exhausted strength—to procure her this respite would be a work of more real and durable glory than he could derive from the proudest triumphs which he has as yet achieved, and this object Buonaparté might well be conceived to have anxiously at heart, however different might be the opinion of gentlemen on this particular; nor should the aspersions now thrown upon his character induce a belief that he was otherwise inclined.

On this occasion, Mr. Fox said, he could not but dwell a moment on a great and venerable character lately deceased;—on that great man (General Washington) it was not in his power to bestow any thing like adequate praise; but, however highly he might now speak of him, his praise could not be supposed to flow from an extravagant lover of liberty, or a hater of social order. The House must acknowledge that the character he was now con-

templating was a truly great and good man; yet the Right honourable Gentleman who opened the present question must remember in what terms that illustrious character had often been traduced in that House, and how any gentleman who spoke favourably of an American was stigmatized as an enemy to his country. The Right honorable Secretary had expressed a wish that no example should be permitted to exist of a Republic established like that of France. He hoped, however, that the American revolution would not be held out as a bad example: if so, all our old prejudices in favour of liberty were gone—it would not, at least, be held in that light by those who thought of the American revolution as he did, and who felt and did still feel that it was highly beneficial to the cause of freedom and good order. Does the American government persist in provoking hostilities with France, or does it refuse to negociate? no, it makes no war for absurd theories: yet we are told that no attention should be paid to the conduct of America; but that we should refuse to negociate because it were setting a bad example that Buonaparté should be permitted to draw such a prize as that of obtaining despotic power in France from the wheel of the revolution. Was not this warring for the sake of a wild theory which was directly opposite to all the practical and pressing arguments of our situation? An honourable friend of his was much censured for the opinion he expressed respecting the change of property which must accompany the restoration of monarchy: he was one of those who coincided in that opinion, and who could oppose the re-establishment of the Emigrants in their property, because such a recovery of property would go to divest a greater number than that of those whom it would reinstate. He admitted that they had been unjustly dispossessed of it; but to do them justice now in restoring it were impracticable, so widely and minutely was that property now diffused.

Mr. Fox next alluded to a proclamation issued by Louis

XVIII. in which that prince pretended that he should be restored with all the powers that formerly belonged to his family; what those powers were it was not necessary to say: but would not the emigrant nobility observe, "Shall the king be restored to all his prerogatives and we not be re-instated in all our property?" The scene that would ensue from the accomplishment of their wishes it were easier for gentlemen to conceive than for him to describe. But there was one point which called for the peculiar attention of the House: we are, it seems, to make common cause with the House of Bourbon, and to fight to the last extremity for their restoration. This, surely, was the scheme of a madman; the language which our conduct spoke evinced it. We threatened, if successful, to excite the whole country of France against Buonaparté and to overturn the present French government; but, should our attempts fail of success, then would we consent to negociate. On what our hopes of success were founded he might not be able to see as clearly as those gentlemen who so sanguinely persisted in them. But it might be observed that the success of war was proverbially variable and inconstant; and though the success of the last campaign was asserted to be unexampled, yet the campaign of the enemy, but two years before, was equally successful, though their victories were not exactly achieved in the same space of time. Mr. Fox proceeded to draw a most animated picture of the horrors and murders perpetrated at Naples, which was said to be delivered: there, if he was rightly informed, the very flesh of their victims was devoured by the friends of social order and morality! and in no instance was the treaty observed which promised safety and security of property to what were called the patriots: as this treaty is said to have been signed and guaranteed by a British officer he hoped and trusted it would be particularly inquired into, and that this foul stain should be washed away from the British name; a stain that in blackness could rival any that resulted

from the atrocities of the French revolution. When were these horrors to cease? were they to be ascribed to ambition, to the lust of power? to a spirit of aspiring domination? no; these motives were of angelic hue when compared with those which instigated those horrors: they were those of revenge, hatred, animosity, and rancour, and of every fell passion that leads to the extinction of all civilization and humanity: are they not to be checked in their desolating progress till the Bourbons are restored? We had before boasted of successful campaigns: we were repeatedly told of the capture of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Conde, &c. &c. which prepared some gentlemen for a march to Paris. But still more sanguine hopes of success were now conceived than at that period: where then was the expectation of peace; since success leads only to war, the war may now be expected to be endless! Good God! what a lamentable prospect was this for the country! for a mere speculation, or a rash experiment, we are to persist in spilling the blood, in exhausting the treasure of the country, and in swelling the black catalogue of human miseries; and all this that we may pause! and for what? merely, that we may better ascertain the character of an individual or the probable stability of his power; for this are all the horrors of human carnage to be protracted! What difference between a battle of the present day and the battle of Blenheim, for example? we then see that we bravely fought to curb the ambition of Louis XIV: but if it be now inquired, why men expire and spread desolation around them, like that spread through the Palatinate by that vain ambitious monarch; it is, not because we are angry, but merely to pause and pause in war, not in peace, in order to see whether we may not meet with a better than Buonaparté to negotiate with! That individual professes a desire of peace; you refuse to sound the sincerity of his professions, while you secretly entertain a resolution to carry on the war, too odious, too determined, and too ruinous to be openly

avowed. Yet you sued, or, at least, fought for peace in 1796, because the people expressed an anxiety for the return of peace: are they not now as anxious, as solicitous as they were then? most certainly they are: but such have been the alterations made in the constitution, that no means are left them for manifesting that anxiety and solicitude. Formerly ministers crouched before the will of the nation, now they pay not the least deference to the voice of public opinion. Mr. Fox concluded by repeating his wish, that those who would have voted for the Address, in case ministers had accepted the overtures of the enemy, would now vote in reprobating the rejection of them; and that those only would vote for the present Address who would have opposed that which recommended immediate negociation.

The question being now loudly called for, the House divided; for the Address 265, against it 64; majority 201.

The strong and marked decision of the cabinet of St. James's attached the court of Vienna as firmly as ever to the common cause; but the German Empire became daily less and less convinced of the necessity of continuing the war, and the government received nothing in the shape of voluntary aid. Buonaparté saw in this laxity a favourable symptom for his object, and he continued to correspond with the Archduke on the subject of peace, sending his aid-de-camp to the head-quarters of the prince, because he was prohibited from proceeding to Vienna. The arrival of General Kray, on the 16th of February, at Donauschingen, to succeed the Archduke in the command of the army, made the hopes of peace evanish like the morning cloud.

The French government having been defeated in its attempts to procure peace, was compelled to seek it at the mouth of the cannon. The determination of the Combined Powers to prosecute the war was communicated to the Legislative Body on the 7th of March. The

Address, containing evident proofs of indignation against Britain, was conceived in the the following terms:

"Frenchmen! you have been anxious for peace; your government has desired it with still greater ardour: its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy: to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the chart of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to gain possession of the trade of the whole and enrich itself with their spoils; to obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues."

Whatever truth there might be in the allegation on either side, it is certain that, from this period, the war was a mere personal contest; and, if it be true that the Allies took no very lively interest in the re-establishment of the Bourbons, it will be a question, whether the mere desire of embarrassing an individual was not too frivolous a motive for hazarding the further effusion of blood.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Buonaparté endeavours to conciliate Neutral Powers.... A Union between Great Britain and Ireland effected.... A new Force, to be called the Army of Reserve....Ordered to assemble at Dijon, by Buonaparté....Death of Championnet....Massena appointed to succeed him in the Command....Distresses of the Army of Genoa increased by the Vigilance of the British Fleet....Vigorous Efforts of the Allies to get Possession of the City.

ENGLAND and France were now, more clearly than ever, the principals in the war, and each exerted all its efforts to strengthen itself, and to multiply its resources. On receiving intelligence of the death of General Washington, Buonaparté made an effort to conciliate America, by a well-timed compliment, in ordering all the colours and officers of the Republic to mount black crape for ten days. Such of the European powers as had persevered in a state of neutrality, were also considered as worthy of being conciliated, from political motives.

In a particular manner, the First Consul was attentive to the King of Prussia, whom neither the prayers nor threatenings of the Combined Powers could turn aside from his inflexible apathy. He had continued neutral during the existence of the Directorial government, and, therefore, it was not to be expected that the mildness and moderation of the Consular authority would alter his resolution. But Buonaparté left nothing unattempted to induce the court of Berlin to espouse the cause of the Republic against the Coalition, as the most likely mean of terminating the war. The King of Prussia, however, would not abandon the line of conduct he had hitherto pursued.

The new French ambassador Bournonville, was kindly

received at the court of Berlin, and the Chief Consul, through the medium of this minister, had the fullest assurances of neutrality on the part of Prussia. The example of the King was followed by the Elector of Saxony. It was in vain the Imperial Cabinet solicited his co-operation; the late revolution in France had determined his choice. Sweden also began to evince more friendly dispositions towards the Republic, and the neutrality of Denmark was confirmed by the example of Prussia.

Great Britain had laboured as successfully in the work of the Union with Ireland, and that measure was so far concluded on the 5th of February, that 153 members against 115, in the Irish House of Commons, forming a majority of 38, voted in its favour; the division in the House of Lords was 75 against 26. The details occupied the Legislatures of both countries till the 1st of August, when the Lord Lieutenant assembled both Houses of the Irish Parliament, and dissolved them for ever, by the following Address:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The whole business of this important Session being, at length, happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you, by his Majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.—The proofs you have given on this occasion, of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign, and the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.—You will regret, with his Majesty, the reverse which his Majesty's Allies have experienced on the continent; but his Majesty is persuaded that the firmness and public spirit of his

subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year. His Majesty has also witnessed with pleasure that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the Union; and he has seen with satifaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have the happiness to acquaint you that the country in general has, in a great measure, returned to its former state of tranquillity. If in some districts a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, these disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated. The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, though much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe; but, I trust, that under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest. I am persuaded, that the great measure which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain,

and augment the resources of the Empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow subjects—you will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this ardent question. Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same Sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to ensure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our Sovereign, on the anniversary of that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The Empire, is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by divisions, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, will, I trust, remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his Majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects."

The attempts of the French government to procure the blessings of peace having proved unsuccessful, the most vigorous efforts were made for opening another campaign. An army of reserve, to consist of 60,000 men, were to be assembled at Dijon, the city which was to constitute the general rendezvous for the military operations of the armies, both of Italy and Germany, on account of its centrical situation. Every class of men in the Republic

entertained the most sanguine hopes of being able to dictate a peace at the point of the bayonet; and many, who had been dissatisfied with the Consular government, now came forward with a hearty tender of their services. Numbers flocked to the standard of Buonaparté, without solicitation, and provided themselves with martial implements at their own expense. The chief command of this army was at first conferred on Berthier, who had been Minister of War since the 18th Brumaire. His successor, in this last office, was Carnot, the ex-director, whom the Consul had found it his interest to recal, and who had always conducted himself by the dictates of an intelligent and disinterested mind.

The preceding campaign in Italy terminated with the capture of Coni, and the death of Championnet, who, it is thought, Buonaparté disliked, and the retreat of the French army into the territory of Genoa, the only place of any consequence in Italy which they could now boast of. So interesting was this place considered by the Combined Powers, that they seemed to attach the whole glory of the campaign to the wresting of it from the hands of the Republicans. A little attention will convince us that this anxiety was not surprising, for, whilst the French were masters of Genoa, they could, with the greatest ease, give assistance to their army in Switzerland, and secure a passage into Italy by the defiles of Upper Piedmont.

Upon the death of Championnet Massena was appointed commander in chief of the army, which he found reduced to a melancholy situation, dragging out the remains of a severe winter on the frozen summits of the Appenines. The ravages of war had reduced this army to one half of its original number, and nearly dissolved it by famine and disease, in a great measure owing to the system of robbery and plunder which characterized the administrstion of Scherer. The military chests and magazines were empty, while the exertions of the chief offi-

cers were such as to evince their incapacity to afford any material relief. No pay had been received for seven months, and the number of deserters became prodigious, in order, if possible, to escape the jaws of death, by seeking relief in some more hospitable clime. Nearly 30,000 men perished in the territory of Genoa, by disease and famine, without having to face a single enemy. This army, therefore, of which Massena assumed the command, had almost to be created anew; and, for this reason, the most unlimited powers were conferred upon him by the Consuls, both military, political, administrative, and financial. Nor was this disorder confined to the army of Genoa, for the troops in the Southern parts of France, in the countries contiguous to the Rhine, were nearly in the same condition; and, even in the heart of the Republic, soldiers were forced to subsist on arbitrary requisitions, extorted from the people, for want of clothing and pay.

Before Massena arrived at Nice he had organized a considerable army, from the measures he put in execution by the way. He endeavoured to bring different battalions back to their colours; one whole division, which had deserted their posts, from insupportable misery, having returned to France in search of pay, clothing, and food. He was finally successful, by a judicious distribution of rewards and punishments, in prevailing with them to unite themselves again to their respective standards.

The evils already mentioned raged at Genoa, and its vicinity, with redoubled fury. The military were become real objects of pity to the very people, who, but a short time before, both feared and respected them. The higher classes of the community, who considered the French as the plunderers of their country, the destroyers of their rank and political importance, were inwardly delighted with their wretchedness, and secretly assisted in every measure which could be supposed calculated to compel them to evacuate the country. The Austrians, in the

mean time, enjoyed abundant communication with Genoa, by means of Italian refugees, by the connivance of the Genoese general, Assaretto, and also by the Republican soldiers themselves, who were sometimes tempted to sell their *consigne*, for the purpose of procuring bread!

Massena had been promised 60,000 men, but had the mortification to find himself at the head of no more than 24,000, after the most indefatigable exertions; which number he was obliged to extend between Mount Cenis, and the frontiers of Tuscany, a distance of more than 230 miles. He kept it no secret from the government of France, that the danger was imminent which awaited it from this quarter, and that it would be impossible to save the Ligurian Republic should he be seriously attacked. He dismissed the whole of the generals, not from any personal animosity, or a conviction that they were not qualified to discharge their duty, but because the army could not have separated such men from the idea of the defeats they had formerly experienced under their command. A portion of their pay was given to the troops, and some clothing, particularly shoes, an article of which the army stood eminently in need, as scarcely a single pair was to be found among them. Having perceived these exertions to ameliorate their situation, the soldiers became more submissive and obedient, and ready to engage the enemy whenever it should be required. But, formidable as the Austrians were in this quarter, Massena soon found that they were not the only enemy with which he had to contend: the people in the Eastern territory of Genoa had been in a state of insurrection for some months before this period, and the disorders among the troops were urged as a pretext for this hostile deportment, although no pretext was necessary to the Italians, when they saw the French retreating before a force so vastly superior.

While the Republicans found themselves unable to suppress the insurrection in the East they were alarmed

at the rapid advances of a similar disposition in the West. Massena, therefore, left the care of the city to the national guard, and issued a number of manifestoes, which the rebels viewed with contempt: he sent the first division of his army to reduce them; it succeeded in checking the progres of the rebellion, but did not find it practicable to make them return to obedience, and few of the plans, which Massena judiciously devised, were successfully executed. Corn had been purchased by him at Marseillies, but only a part of it reached his army, owing to the vessels employed to convey it being captured by the English: this rendered it necessary to reduce the troops to what is denominated *short allowance,* each man having no more than two ounces of bread per day! Relief by sea had been prevented from arriving on account of contrary winds, and the harbour was, at length, blocked up by the British fleet. In such a predicament, the Republican general was reduced to a choice of evils; either to be blockaded in Genoa, which was destitute of provisions, and would, therefore, soon fall a prey to famine, or enter the field of battle against an army to which his own bore no proportion. The Ligurian Republic was incapable of affording him any relief; and, indeed, it would have been easier to raise a new army than place that of Genoa in a situation either of attack or defence, all circumstances considered.

The state of the French army rendered that of the Austrians perfectly secure during the winter, which was, consequently, confined to a state of observation, arranged through Lombardy, the Venetian states, Piedmont, and different parts of the Roman territory. In such a divided situation the Austrians did not appear to be in readiness for opening the campaign, although they could procure with facility every thing requisite for immediate hostilities. The French were persuaded that the Austrians would not be in a situation for entering the field of battle at the very time when the different divisions of the Austrian

army were rapidly advancing to commence hostilities. The British forces, under Lord Keith, menaced the sea coasts, and consternation seized on the Republicans, while they could not help admiring the secrecy with which Melas collected, in a few days, 10,000 men before Bobbio, as many before Tortona, 30,000 before Acqui and Alexandria, by which he was qualified to leave all his cavalry in Piedmont, besides a numerous artillery, and 20,000 infantry. The Republican army was only 17,620 strong, even comprehending in that number the troops who garrisoned Genoa, Gavi, and Novi, and who were obliged to occupy a line of sixty miles in extent.

The appearance of the British fleet before Genoa had been the preconcerted signal for the commencement of hostilities, and the communication of the French by sea was now totally cut off. Prior to this period a quantity of wheat entered the port of Genoa, which prevented the city from requesting an immediate capitulation. Next day 20,000 Austrians marched from Acqui to Savona, where the Republicans had no more than 3,000 men, who made a vigorous, though unavailing, opposition, being obliged to fall back on Cadibona, of which the Austrians likewise gained possession, and threatened to cut off the communication of the Genoese army with France. This division of the Republicans was saved from ruin by the astonishing exertions of General Soult, who headed the centre. The Austrians entered the suburbs of Savona, when the French evacuated the town, and effected their retreat towards Albi, forty-three miles North-north-west of the former.

While the Austrians on the West of Genoa were engaged in cutting of the communication of the Republicans with France, the Eastern division gained possession of Montefaccio: within sight of the town, they kindled fires as a singnal to the Insurgents, who were further excited by the sounding of the tocsin. They were, however, compelled to retreat by the attack of General Miolis, who

pursued his advantage, and made 1,500 of them prisoners at Campinardigo, among whom was General Baron d'Aspres. The chief benefit resulting from this victory, was the destroying a spirit of insurrection in the people of Genoa.

The battle fought at Sasselo on the 10th of April, between the French and Austrians, was extremely bloody, and the contest obstinate on both sides, but victory declared in favour of the latter, as the Republicans, from the difficulty of the country, found it impracticable to procure information and unite their forces, according to the injunctions of Massena, who narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, together with three of his staff. Soult availed himself of Massena's movement in his favour, and compelled the Austrians to fall back upon Tagliarino, eleven miles North-east of Genoa, which position they were also forced to abandon, after having sustained a considerable loss. The French carried the mountain Hermetta, which separated the two divisions of their army, formed a junction, and the Austrians, in different conflicts, lost about 4,000 men.

A division of the French army was defeated by an inferior number of Imperialists, and driven from their post at Castelletto, twenty-nine miles North-east of Genoa, which was soon after re-captured by Massena, who inflicted on the deserters from this station what was deemed a punishment for their cowardice—they were to remain in garrison at Genoa.

The partial victories acquired by the French over the enemy could not be viewed in the light of advantages, but rather of misfortunes, since they had no opportunities of recruiting their diminishing army, while their opponents could receive every thing they stood in need of with little trouble and no molestation. Genoa was, therefore, destined to surrender by the triumphant assaults of famine and disease, for which event the Austrians had only to wait with patience. The army of Massena, by the

21st of April, was reduced to 9,500 men, formed into two divisions under Miolis and Garnier, which were to be opposed to an army four times as numerous; but a more dangerous enemy within the walls of the city—*famine*, rendered the situation of Massena truly deplorable.

During the first days of the siege of Genoa the prisoners captured by the Republicans were sent back; but an apprehension that they might be employed in arms against the interest of France, and the refusal of the Austrian commander to exchange them, induced the Republicans afterwards to retain them. But, as it was perilous to keep them in Genoa, Massena sent them on board the vessels that were lying in the harbour, humanely comprehending them in the list of the persons, who were ordered to receive provisions from the Ligurian Republic. Humanity hears with horror the recital of the sufferings these wretched beings endured, who converted their very knapsacks and shoes into food! The government durst not venture to send any person on board, lest he should have instantly been torn in pieces and devoured, to satisfy their raging appetites! Multitudes of them expired amidst inexpressible misery; while others plunged into the deep, and sought a watery grave, to terminate an intolerable existence.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.*

Formation of the Army of Reserve....Loan required of the Dutch ...Combined Powers Despise the Consular Army .... Means adopted to preserve the Discipline of the Army.... Carnot appointed Minister of War....News from Egypt.... Arrival of General Desaix.

TO repair these disasters, and to enable France to meet the dangers with which she was threatened, occupied the principal attention of the Government. A new army was ordered to be assembled at Dijon, to be called The Army of Reserve, under the command of General Berthier, to amount to 60,000 men; and all persons were invited to accelerate its formation, upon the patriotic principle of revenge against England for refusing to make peace. The military conscription was enforced with unusual rigour, and extensive arrangements were made to increase the new army with a great number of volunteers. The utmost diligence and spirit was exerted in the departments, and strong appeals to the passions succeeded in collecting vast numbers of crusaders to the Consular standard, who were confirmed in their zeal by public proclamations.

The Commander in Chief of the Organization of the Corps of Volunteers of the Army of Reserve, to The Prefects.

"Paris, March, 30.

"The First Consul has entrusted me with the honourable mission of organising the Volunteers, who, in each department, are to present themselves to answer the call which he has made upon all Frenchmen, and who, sharing under his eyes the dangers and the glory of this campaign, will assist him in acquiring peace by conquest.

"I congratulate myself, Citizen Prefect, on having to concur with you for an object so noble, so generous, so conducive to the happiness of our Country. I congratulate you that the first act of your Administration will be to repeat no longer the cries of war, but the accents of the truest patriotism.

"On calling to the common defence all those who, not having been called by law, or having already paid their debt (if it can be

true that the debt can ever be paid towards one's country,) can only be moved by the purest sentiments, you afford to the nation in the name of Government, and to Government in the name of the nation, a pledge of mutual security.

"The gifts so frequently offered, the sacrifices so generously made, the privations supported, the iniquitous extortions suffered by the men of property during the course of the revolution, have exhausted immense resources, but have not been able to dry up those which the real interest of the nation can re-produce—those which good faith, affection and confidence can create.

"It is a truth generally recognised by all well-disposed men, and felt by all Frenchmen, that the government fights for peace, and not to re-kindle and keep alive the flames of war. It is to terminate the revolution—to secure the repose of families, the civil existence, the real independence of Citizens; it is to realise their happiness, that the Chief Consul is again disposed to try the fate of battles.

"Perhaps some of the principle cities in your department may have also given a good example; but if we may be permitted to presume, from the emulation which the Parisian youth have manifested to repair to the camp of Dijon, I will venture to answer for it, the expectations of the Chief Consul will not be deceived.

"I annex to this the instruction which I have received orders to publish, respecting the organization. I request to be furnished with a return of the number of the different species of troops which you can furnish to the camp at Dijon. As the Chief Consul has directed me to organize myself the companies which are forming at Paris, I shall not repair to Dijon till that is accomplished; I request, you, therefore, to address your reply to me here, and I will announce to you when I shall receive orders to repair thither myself.

"I shall punctually attend to my correspondence with you, anxious to second your zeal, happy to concur in the manifestation of public spirit, this union of civic efforts, for the last triumph of the national cause.

"Health and Fraternity, (Signed) DUMAS."

It was the embarrassment of the finances that induced the Consul to appeal to the voluntary zeal of the people; for, in his circumstances, the good humour of the French was the most important and valuable treasure he could possess. Nothing puts a people out of humour so much as contributions and taxes; he, therefore, turned his attention towards the Dutch, with whom less ceremony was necessary than he found occasion for among his own

subjects. General Marmont was dispatched to Holland to negociate a loan of ten or twelve millions of livres from the municipality of Amsterdam, upon the guarantee of the new Consul.

At the time this requisition was made to the Dutch, the people of Holland were so heavily taxed, that, in the province of Holland, the tax upon Income was 28 per cent. and the tax upon Capital 24; but it will be seen, by the Letter of Buonaparté, that he offered them, as a compensation for their enormous sacrifices, the honour of aiding the sister Republic against the common enemy.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Buonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, to the Members of the Municipality of the City of Amsterdam.

"Europe wishes for peace, and for three months the efforts of the republic have had no other object. The evil consequent upon war have been sustained but too long. The present year should not terminate without giving relief to humanity, and some restoration to commerce. I have taken all the precautions which are necessary to render this campaign decisive; but, in order to insure this issue, I have occasion for an extraordinary supply, in the first instance, of ten or twelve millions of livres; as in a common cause the efforts ought to be reciprocal, I address myself to you, Citizens. I have sent to you General Marmont, Counsellor of State, and I have charged him to present to you a plan, according to which the reimbursements of the advances made by the commerce and the inhabitants of Amsterdam to the French Government shall be secured in a manner the most firm. Knowing the good dispositions which have always been manifested by the Citizens of Amsterdam and their Magistrates, I do not hesitate in a circumstance so decisive, to recur to their zeal. The moments are precious, and I think it my duty to address to them, without any other intervention, propositions which, without injuring their individual interests, will assure to them a necessary and meritorious part in the advantages which are to be obtained. General Marmont will present to this effect the securities, which they will know how to value, and of which I shall guarantee the execution.

"Receive, Citizens, the assurances of my most perfect consideration. (Signed) "Buonaparte."

General Marmont returned to Paris without accomplishing his mission; but the timidity of the merchants

soon induced them to negociate, privately, the loan which the Municipality had refused to advance in a public capacity. The Consul got the money; but the cautious Dutchmen put him off, by their tardy movements, till the time when he would have been ready for a second loan, if they had advanced freely. Meantime the Allies treated the idea of raising an army at Dijon as a most miserable and contemptible artifice, to make a false display of resources, that the French government felt itself incapable of bringing into the field. Even the rashness of Buonaparté (which now seemed to be considered by many as the leading feature in the Consul's character) was thought yet tempered with too much prudence to venture crossing the Alps to lead an army into Piedmont; and it was, besides concluded, that, if he should be mad enough to make the attempt, there was no possibility of collecting the provisions and ammunition necessary for the expedition

The camp, however, continued to form; and, though the conscripts and soldiers were openly told that the salvation of their country depended entirely upon them, the discipline of the army was not suffered to relax, under the mistaken notion of winning the goodwill of the soldiery. To restrain some disorders that were committed by some corps, an ordinance was published by the

WAR DEPARTMENT.

"The Consuls of the republic being informed that the column of the Army of Reserve under the command of General Chambarlhac, had committed excesses upon its route, the Minister at War has dispatched a commissary to investigate the affair upon the spot, and to estimate the damage that has been done, in order to indemnify the proprietors who have suffered.

"It is the intention of the Minister at War that the stoppage made from the troops to pay this expence shall only affect those who have been guilty of excess, and who have thus essentially failed in military discipline, as well as upon those whose duty it was to have prevented such misconduct.

"He is persuaded that the general mass of the troops of the column had no share in acts so unworthy of the defenders of their

country, one of whose most respectable titles is that of defenders of property.

(Signed) "BREMOND, Sec. Gen. of War."

Upon the appointment of Berthier to the chief command of the Army of Reserve, the First Consul prevailed upon the ex-director, Carnot, to accept the office of Minister of War; and that excellent tactician undertook the task with great alacrity, notwithstanding the ill-treatment he had received from Buonaparté, subsequent to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor.

The appointment of Carnot ought to have prepared the Combined Powers for some very grand plan of operations; but they do not appear to have acted upon any such persuasion. By the French Government every degree of energy was exerted: one soul animated the immense mass that was in motion, from the banks of the Mediterranean to the borders of Hesse; and every effort was exerted to combine their united energies, so as to direct them all to the accomplishment of one grand object.

Before any attempt was made to open the campaign, it was thought proper to let the generals meet to concert the plan of operations; and, accordingly, the Generals Moreau and Berthier met at Basle, previous to their committing any act of hostility.

Both France and the Allies experienced some embarrassment by the doubt that still existed as to the part that the Emperor of Russia would take. The Combined Powers would, evidently, be less able to oppose any new force that France would bring into the field, if left to themselves, than if assisted by such a powerful auxiliary: and France would find her new levies, perhaps, far inferior to the enemy on her frontiers, if he should happen to have his lines filled up by powerful hordes of Russians.

Whilst this season of suspense lasted, France was fortunate enough to receive intelligence from General Kleber, in Egypt, announcing the Convention that he

had entered into with the English and Turkish Commanders, and which had stipulated, that he and his army should return to France, upon the Treaty being ratified by the Porte and its Allies. The dispatches were sent by an advice-boat, that the French General was allowed to expedite to his Government; and it will be seen, by its being addressed to the Directory, that the news of Buonaparté's elevation had not reached the army of Egypt, when the Treaty was signed.

LETTER

From GENERAL KLEBER *to the* FRENCH DIRECTORY.

"Camp at Fahieh, January 30.

"I HAVE signed, Citizens Directors, the Treaty relative to the evacuation of Egypt, of which I now send you a copy: that which bears the signature of the Grand Vizier cannot come to my hand for some days, as the exchange was fixed to take place at El Arisch.

"I have informed you, in my preceding dispatches, of the situation of the army; I have also informed you of the negotiations which General Buonaparté had opened with the Grand Vizier, and which I was to continue. Though, at that period, I relied but little on the success of those negotiations, I entertained a hope that they would slacken the march of the Vizier, as well as his warlike preparations, that you might have time to send me succours in men and arms, or to transmit your instructions as to the manner in which I should conduct myself under such painful circumstances. I had founded my hope of succour on the knowledge that the French and Spanish fleets were united at Toulon, and waited but for a favourable wind to sail from that harbour: they did sail, in fact, but it was to pass the Straits and to re-enter the port of Brest. This intelligence deeply afflicted the army, which, at the same time, was informed of our disasters in Italy, Germany, and Holland, and also in La Vendee, without the appearance of any measure being taken to avert the misfortunes which threatened even the existence of the Republic.

"The Vizier was then advancing from Demas: on the other hand, in the mid lle of October, a fleet appeared before Damietta, which landed about 4,000 Janizaries, who were to be followed by an equal number: time, however, was not given for this, the first detachment being attacked and beaten in less than half an hour: the carnage was dreadful; we made but 800 prisoners! This event did not smooth the way to negotiation; the Vizier still manifested the same intention, and did not slacken his march any more than was necessary to form his establishments and to find the necessary means of conveyance. His army was then estimated at 60,000 men; but other pachas followed him, and were recruiting new forces from all parts of Asia as far as Mount Caucasus: the advanced posts of this army arrived shortly after at Jaffa.

"The Commodore, Sir Sidney Smith, wrote to me about this period; that is to say, some days before the landing at Damietta: and, as I knew his influence over the Grand Vizier, I thought it my duty not only to answer him, but to propose the vessel which he commanded as the place of conference. I was equally unwilling to receive in Egypt any plenipotentiaries, whether English or Turkish, and to send mine to the camp of the latter My proposition was accepted, and from that time the negotiation took a more determined course: all this, however, did not retard the march of the Ottoman army, which the Vizier was marching towards Gaza. The war continued in the mean time in Upper Egypt; where the Beys, until then dispersed, were about to reunite themselves with Murad Bey; who, though always followed, but never completely subdued, had drawn into his party the Arabs and the inhabitants of the province of Benissouef, and never lost an opportunity of harassing and keeping our troops in employ.

"The plague threatened us also with its ravages, and had carried off several men in each decade at Alexandria and other places. At length, on the 21st of December,

General Desaix and Citizen Poussielgue, whom I had named as plenipotentiaries, opened, on board the Tiger, their conferences with Sir Sidney Smith, to whom the Grand Vizier had given full powers to treat. They were to cruise off the coasts of Alexandria and Damietta; but a violent gale obliged them to put to sea, where they were detained for eighteen days, at the end of which term they were landed at the camp of the Vizier, who had advanced against the fort of El Arisch, and obtained possession of it on the 29th of December. He owed this success to the marked cowardice of the garrison, which, without fighting, surrendered on the seventh day of the attack: this circumstance was the more unfortunate, as General Reyneir was on his way to raise the blockade before the main body of the Turkish army could arrive. There was then no possibility of prolonging any further the negotiation, and it became necessary to weigh the danger which would attend their being broken off: to lay aside all motives of personal vanity, and not to expose the lives of Frenchmen, entrusted to me, to the terrible consequences, which a further delay would have rendered inevitable.

"The latest reports intimated, that the Ottoman army amounted to 80,000 men, and was about to be greatly augmented: there was under its standard twelve pachas, of whom six were of the first rank. Forty-five thousand men had appeared before El-Arisch, who were provided with 50 pieces of cannon, and caissoons in proportion; this artillery was drawn by mules; 20 other pieces were at Gaza, with the *corps de reserve*; the remainder of the troops were at Jaffa and in the environs of Ramile. A number of active coasters supplied the army of the Vizier with provisions: all the tribes of the Arabs eagerly seconded this army and had furnished it with more than 15,000 camels: this force was conducted by European officers, and five or six thousand Russians were daily expected. To this army I had to oppose 8,500 men, divided on the three points of

Katich, Salahich, and Belbeys: this division was necessary to facilitate our communications with Cairo and to give immediate succour to that post which should be first attacked. It was certain, however, that all these posts could be either turned or avoided, as had been recently done by Elfi Bey, who, pending the negotiation, had entered, with his mamelouks into Charkie, to join with the Billis Arabs, and from thence to unite with Murad Bey in Upper Egypt. The rest of our army was distributed as follows: 1,000 men were under the orders of General Verdier, to form the garrison of Lesbe, to raise contributions in money and provisions, and to hold in check the country between the canal of Achmoun and that of Moes, which was secretly agitated by the Cheik Leskam: 1,800 men were under the orders of General Lanusse, to form the garrisons of Rosetta, Aboukir, and Alexandria, to hold in check the Delta and Bahire: 1,200 remained at Cairo and Gaza, to furnish escorts for the convoys of the army; and, finally, 2,500 men were scattered in Higher Egypt, along a line of more than 150 leagues in extent; these had daily to combat the Beys and their partisans. The whole formed a body of about 15,000; and this was, at the highest, the whole of my force.

" Notwithstanding this disproportion I still hoped for victory, and should have hazarded a battle, if I had had any certainty of succour before the time of debarkation: but this season having once arrived, without my receiving any reinforcement, I was obliged to send 5,000 men, at least, towards the coast. There then remained only 3,000 men to defend a country, open on every side, against the attack of at least 30,000 horsemen, seconded by the Arabs and the inhabitants, without any one strong place, without provisions, without money, and without vessels! At such a crisis it was my duty to inquire what could be done for the preservation of the army: there remained no means of safety, as there remained no possibility of treating, but arms in hand, with undisciplined hordes of fanatical bar-

barians, who despised all the usages of warfare. This was a fact evident to all, and it determined my opinion.—I gave orders to my plenipotentiaries, not to break off the negotiations, unless such articles were proposed as might commit our glory or our safety.

" I end this Report, Citizens Directors, by observing to you, that the circumstances of my situation were not foreseen in the instructions left with me by General Buonaparté. When he promised me a speedy succour, he rested his hopes, as I did, on the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Mediterranean: we were then far from thinking that these fleets were to return into the ocean; or, that the expedition to Egypt being completely abandoned, should become a head of accusation against those by whom it had been decreed.

" I join to this Letter copies of my correspondence with the Grand Vizier, Sir Sidney Smith, and my plenipotentiaries, as also all the official Notes on either side. I subjoin also a copy of the Report which was made respecting the capture of El-Arisch.

" The French army, in fine, during its stay in Egypt, has engraven in the recollection of the natives the memory of its victories, of the equity and moderation with which we governed them, and the sentiment of the force and power of the nation, of which this army makes a part. The French name will long be respected, not only in this province of the Ottoman Empire, but in every part of the East.—I reckon on being in France, with the army, by the middle of June, at the latest.

" Health and respect,

(Signed) " KLEBER."

CONVENTION

On the Evacuation of Egypt between GENERAL DESAIX *and* CITIZEN POUSSIELGUE, *Administrator of the Finances, on the one Part; and their Excellencies* MUSTAPHA RASCHID EFFENDI, *and* MUSTAPHA RATSICHE, *Plenipotentiaries of the* GRAND VIZIER, *on the other Part.*

" THE French army in Egypt, wishing to shew its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and to put an end to the unfortunate dispute between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte, agree to evacuate Egypt, according to the terms of the present Convention, and in the hope that this concession will open the way to a general peace in Europe.

1. " The French army to retire, with its arms, baggage, and effects, to Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, there to embark for France, in vessels to be provided by the Sublime Porte.

2. " An armistice of three months to take place from the date of the present Convention.

3. " Commissaries to be appointed on either side to superintend the embarkation; and if any dispute shall arise, it is to be decided by Sir Sidney Smith, according to the maritime laws of England.

4. " The French army are as speedily as possible to evacuate all the forts in their possession, leaving them in their present state. They are however to retain the Western bank of the Nile until after the evacuation of Cairo.

5. " Cairo to be evacuated within forty-five days.

6. " The French troops not to be molested in their persons, goods, or honour, during their retreat.

7. " The French and Turkish troops to be stationed at such a distance from each other as to prevent any rencontre.

8. "The persons held in confinement, on either side, o be immediately set at large.

9. "The goods and property taken on each side to be restored.

10. "No inhabitant of Egypt to be molested for any adherence to the French, after their departure.

11. "Passports shall be given from the Porte, and its Allies, Great Britain and Russia, to ensure the safe return of the French army.

12. "The French army pledges itself to commit no hostility on its way homeward, and not to touch at any port before their arrival in France, except in case of necessity.

13. "If any French vessels shall arrive during the truce, they shall be allowed to return with passports, after taking in water and provisions.

14. "General Kleber is allowed to send off an advice-boat to inform the French Government of the present Convention.

15. "Subsistence to be furnished to the French army during its stay and for its voyage.

17. "The French army is not to raise any further contributions; it is, on the contrary, to leave the cattle and magazines, cannon, &c. which are to be valued by Turkish commissaries, and by the Commander of the British forces. If these should not amount to the sum of 3,000 purses, at which the maintenance and embarkation of the French troops are estimated, the remainder shall be advanced by the Porte, by way of loan.

17. "Advances to be made from time to time to the French army for their subsistence.

18. "The contributions received by the French, after the date of this Convention, to be deducted from this allowance.

19. "The French transport vessels to be at liberty during the truce to navigate the coasts of Egypt.

20. "To prevent any dangers from the plague, no per-

son supposed to be infected with that distemper is allowed to be embarked, but is to remain under the care of French surgeons.

21. "Any difficulty which may arise to be settled by commissaries appointed on each side.

22. "This Convention to be ratified within eight days.

(Signed)

DESAIX.	MUSTAPHA RASCHED EFFENDI.
POUSSIELGUE.	MUSTAPHA RASSICHE EFFENDI.

KLEBER, *Commander in Chief, to the* DIVAN OF CAIRO, *and to those of the different Provinces of Egypt.*

"Head-quarters, Salahieh, March 6.

"YOU have for a long time known the constant resolution of the French nation to preserve its ancient relations with the Ottoman Empire. My illustrious predecessor, General Buonaparté, has often declared it to you since the circumstances of the war have induced us to visit this country: he neglected no measure to dissipate the apprehensions which had been infused into the Porte, led as it was to conclude an alliance equally contrary to its interests and ours. The explanations sent by him to the Court of Constanople failed in re-establishing so desirable an union; and the march of the Grand Vizier against Damas having opened a more direct mode of communication, he opened negotiations, and confided to me the task of terminating them, at the moment when affairs of superior interest obliged him to return to Europe. I have this day concluded them, and restore this country to the possession of our ancient ally. The re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt will be the first effect of the measure: the treaty shall be the first clause of a peace, which is become necessary to the nations of the West.

"The principles according to which we have governed Egypt are sufficiently known to you. We have maintained and respected your religion, your laws, your customs, and the enjoyment of your property: we do not

leave among you the remembrance of any violence: it was to you the interests of the inhabitants were particularly intrusted; you have been placed between the French and them that no injury might be done to the ancient usages of the country. To the wisdom of my Predecessor have you been indebted for those regulations, and I have been sensible of the necessity of maintaining them: the zeal with which you filled such honourable duties entitles you to the approbation of all just men, and to the special protection of the government which is on the point of succeeding us. The people of Egypt, directed by your counsels, have submitted to the established authority: the concord which has existed between them and us is the effect and the reward of your different labours: I trust that this harmony will be uninterrupted until the complete execution of the treaty. Should unforeseen disorders lead to the breach of it, I would be compelled to suppress them by the force of arms.

(Signed) "KLEBER."

EXTRACT

Of the Report of the Captain of Grenadiers of the 13th Demi-brigade, respecting what passed at the Fortress of El-Arisch.

"ON the 21st of December the Turkish army appeared before and invested the fortress of El-Arisch: the trenches were opened the same night, and a battery of mortars played upon the place. On the 23rd a considerable number of the soldiers in garrison talked of surrendering; and a petition, signed by eighty soldiers, was delivered to Cazot, chief of battalion; stating, that the garrison would no longer fight, and ordering him to surrender the fortress.

"The next day the Commander assembled the garrison, and desired that those who were cowardly enough to talk of surrendering might quit the place and join the

enemy, but that he and the officers were determined to hold out. The Turks having made some advances on the 28th, Captain Feray was ordered to make a sally, at the head of the grenadiers, for the purpose of driving them back; but the grenadiers refused to follow him, except three men: he was, therefore, compelled to retreat; and, as he returned, a part of the garrison had taken down the French standard over the gate; the artillery ceased firing, and white standards were hoisted. Every attempt was made to induce the soldiers to do their duty, but all in vain; the cowards even invited the Turks, from the rampart, to enter the place! The whole Turkish army, horse and foot, drew near in a short time, and the soldiers let down cords to assist the Turks in mounting! A sallyport was, at length, opened, (it is not known by what means) and the fort was in an instant filled with Turks, who disarmed the garrison, and cut off the heads of the very persons who had furnished them with the cords to ascend the walls! The Commander, Cazot, however, fortunately, succeeded in making a capitulation with Selim Mustapha Pacha, and an English officer, who had entered the place; and it was regulated, that the garrison should lay down their arms and continue prisoners of war. It was impossible to restore order among the Turks. The French who fell into the hands of the Turkish and English officers were conducted to the camp of the Grand Vizier; and the others, incited to defend themselves, by the example of those whose heads had been cut off, fought the Turks for half an hour longer. Captain Feray had but just entered the camp of the Grand Vizier when the powder magazine blew up: the French nearest to the spot, after the explosion, were put to death by the Turks. Among the number of those whose heads were cut off was the chief of battalion, Grandpere.

"On the morning of that fatal day the greater part of the garrison had drank a great quantity of brandy; but

previously to it we had only lost seven or eight men in killed and wounded.

"Two hundred and sixteen men, including fourteen officers, were taken prisoners, and conducted to Goya.

(Signed) "FERAY."

"Dated at the camp near Salahich, January 17."

Thus the Consul saw the termination of a project, which contemplated the vast schemes of overturning the Eastern power of Britain, and of uniting the two seas; but he consoled himself for the failure against Britain, by the consideration of his having overturned the government of his country, and, if he could not unite the seas, he would do much better, by identifying the House of Buonaparté with the fate of the French nation.

It was not long after the arrival of General Kleber's dispatches, that General Desaix, Citizen Poussielgue, and about one hundred and fifty officers of the Army of Egypt, reached Leghorn, in a neutral ship, on their way to France. The letters of General Desaix put an end to all hopes that had been entertained at Paris, of co-operation from the Army of Egypt; for the English Admiral, Lord Keith, refused to ratify the treaty, having received instructions from his government to that effect, when it was learned, by the Intercepted Letters of Buonaparté, that the French designed to take the benefit of such a treaty.

It is extremely difficult for an historian to give an opinion upon an event of this sort without appearing to divest himself of that attribute of Impartiality for which this work ought to be characterized. It was natural enough that the French should complain of any obstacle thrown in the way of a treaty in the moment when it ought to have been executed; and it, consequently, happened, that all the common place charges of breach of faith, and forfeiture of national honour, were, by the

French papers, brougt against the British Government upon the occasion. Whether those charges were all founded or not, posterity will, probably, be better able to judge, than we can be, in an age when most of our decisions are guided by our attachment or aversion to the respective parties, rather than by the unsophisticated evidence of fact.

The subject was brought before the British parliament, by one of its own members, and underwent many long discussions: the principal ground taken by those in opposition to Government was the inviolability of treaties. The Ministry answered, that they had not authorised the signing any treaty, and, therefore, that they were not bound to ratify the act of an officer who had assumed a power with which he was not invested by his Government. By the French it was contended, that General Kleber had not regarded Sir Sidney Smith as a mere military man, he having been at Constantinople in a diplomatic capacity.

The petulance of the French Government and the irritability of the English gave the transaction much more the character of a quibble than a dispute; and, perhaps, it will always be difficult to determine on which side the justice lay. There can, however, be little presumption in affirming, that a government which suffers its officers to be so ignorant of its dispositions, as to be incapable of acting in circumstances evidently connected with the performance of their duties (be its sense of propriety and justice what it may) is destitute of that sense of prudence and sound policy which is essential to a wise government.

Beside the rupture of the treaty, a measure highly offensive in itself, it was done in a manner (if the French accounts are to be credited) that gave it the appearance of an insolent aggression, unworthy of the nation in whose name it was committed. After Lord Keith had sent Ge-

neral Desaix to the Lazaretto (the French accounts say) he descended so far as to affront him, by proposing to allow him *ten pence* per day for his keep! that being the sum allowed to the French soldiers taken prisoners: and caused it to be observed to him, ironically, "That the equality proclaimed in France did not admit of his being better treated than they were." If Lord Keith did so, he must be execrated by every man of honour; and he ought to be despised by every Englishman, who feels his national pride wounded whenever he hears a foreigner exclaim against the insolence and brutality of the naval officers of his country. Be it as it may, the pointed repartee of Desaix to the sarcasm alluded to, animadverted so severely upon the English Admiral, that the translator of a biographical notice of the General, excused himself from putting it into English language, upon the ground that the *Habeas Corpus* Act was then suspended.

The Court of St. James's, afterwards, saw reason to confirm the engagements entered into by Sir Sidney Smith; General Desaix and the other officers were, therefore, allowed to proceed to France: but the ratification did not reach Egypt till General Kleber had been made acquainted with the previous instructions to Lord Keith: and we shall be under the necessity of returning, once again, to trace the devastations and miseries of war on the banks of the Nile.

Whilst Buonaparté was exerting every nerve to establish his power and to complete the subjugation of Europe, a domestic conspiracy had nearly put an end to his career; it was composed of Jacobins, Royalists, and Moderates; men of ruined fortunes and disappointed ambition, who united in one common project of anarchy, for the sake of pillage or promotion: they were animated with no patriotic desire to free their country from slavery, for Buonaparté had not proved himself a greater tyrant than his predecessors; but though their

scheme failed, it gave him a pretence to assume powers which were dangerous to public and individual liberty, and shewed the first glimpse of that return of arbitrary power, which was never exceeded under the monarchy.

The first circumstance which testified the disposition of Buonaparté to govern by his own will was, a law which he caused to be passed in the two legislative councils, for the creation of a special criminal tribunal, suspending the trial by jury, and enabling the judges to pronounce summarily on all offences affecting the safety of the state, or in any measure violating the social compact; a latitude of expression which put the life of every man in danger: the judges were partly civil and partly military, and were permitted to decide merely on written evidence. The pretended object of the law was, to repress the numerous crimes which had been committed on the highways, and various other places, by a set of loose people, the impure dregs of the Revolution and the war, who, without employment or fixed residence, were continually preying upon the rest of society; but it was easy to see that these were not the only people intended to be struck by the law; it aimed at the Emigrants, and all those who might be supposed capable of attempting the life of the First Consul; and as such, gave an arbitrary, unlimited, and dangerous power to his creatures in every department. The law met with considerable opposition in the Tribunate, and was carried only by a majority of eight, out of ninety members who voted. The precedent of such an attack upon the Constitution was fatal, and wherever there are certain principles established as the guarantee of liberty, they should be guarded with the utmost jealousy; for the first inroad may be considered as breaking down the whole. The greatest evil of this proceeding was, its being sanctioned by a decree of the Councils; for when injustice is committed by the sole will of an individual, it may be remedied

when that individual is removed, and the glaring atrocity of his conduct makes a general impression. The most insidious attack upon liberty is that which is conducted by regular forms; and the most dangerous kind of tyranny is that which is established by law: but Buonaparté soon relieved himself from all legal formality; yet his advances to supreme power, with all the state and dignity which attend it, were slow and regular; the tricks and trappings of state were assumed first to see how they would be received; the etiquette of a court, the establishment of a levee, of drawing-rooms, and all the pompous ceremonials of monarchy, were seemingly well relished by the Parisians, who had not yet lost all their affection for royalty; the appellation of female citizen was abolished, and the antient feudal title of Madame was restored; and though the name of citizen, as founded on political equality, could not be easily dispensed with by a people enamoured of their late Revolution, yet the term Monsieur was allowed to be used at pleasure: all these things seemed to indicate pretty strongly, that Buonaparté wished to banish the remembrance of that Revolution which had given him his place, and to be thought to possess an authority long established. The encrease of the Consular Guard took place about the same time with the peevish dismissal of the Councils, and the re-establishment of religon.

Buonaparté had always effected to be the patron of science and literature, and his brother Lucien, was the dispenser of his bounty, the Macœnas of his favors; for Lucien too had, or pretended to have, a passion for literature, and delivered two or three well-turned speeches, which gained him the praise of taste and liberality. Tyrants do well to purchase the praises of men of letters, that they may make a decent figure with posterity; and the Buonapartés were extremly fortunate in having to treat with an obsequious generation.

whose virtues and talents were not rated above the price of their pitiful boons.

The paltry pension of an hundred a year, granted by the government to the virtuous St. Lambert,—ruined by the Revolution, and eighty years of age, was a poor recompense for his philosophy and poetry! yet when governments plead poverty, as the minister Lucien did in his letter to the aged Marquis, they only mean it as an excuse for their profligacy and neglect of merit, unless they design to shew that they expect every sort of service at their own price.

Among the many other schemes to entrap the confidence of the nation, and make them believe that Buonaparté was sincerely interested in the public welfare, was the method adopted by the Minister of the Interior to extend the boundaries of knowledge and promote the improvement of the country; for this purpose he commenced a correspondence with the different Prefects of Departments, with the School of Medicine, the Society of Agriculture, and Class of Sciences belonging to the Public Institute, for the sake of obtaining a statistical account of the country; all this had the effect of imposing upon the public; but it was soon abandoned. Lucien had neither steadines of disposition, strength of mind, nor virtuous principle sufficient to pursue such an undertaking, and bring it to maturity; he is a man of lively talents, but not possessed of solidity requisite for so great a purpose, and neither he nor the Great Consul himself were hearty in the cause; they had both adopted the cant of philosophy, without embracing its principles; and their only object was, to delude the people with an idea of their being actuated by patriotic motives. This will be a sufficient key to all Buonaparté's schemes of public good: he knows that this is an age in which men talk much about it, but that very few actually intend it; and he has no further view himself than to fall in with the

temper of the times, in order to gain himself as much popularity as may be requisite for the support of his power.

The French philosophers have written much to prove, that the belief of religion was not essential to the practice of virtue: and, it has happened, that Buonaparté, whilst monopolizing all the military glory of the world, has so far plucked the laurels from the brows of those philosophers, as to have proved that the virtue of their disciples does not greatly exceed that of the Christians. How miserably disappointed were all those who looked forward to the vision of Condorcet, when "the inequality of nations and societies was to be destroyed, and man was to approach perfection! "Could that Philosopher have visited this earth again, he might have found, in his own France, a country where nature seemed to have condemned the inhabitants never to enjoy liberty, and never to exercise their reason."

THE END OF CHAP. XXVIII.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Moral Effects of Buonaparté's Elevation to the Government of France.

NO event had occurred, from the first dawn of the French Revolution, that led to consequences more important in their nature or more extensive in their effects than Buonaparté's Usurpation. The principles of republicanism were now subdued and the rights of man no longer asserted in France—not in that France, which, for eight long years, had held the dagger to the breast of every one who had ventured to doubt the political equality of man, and which had traced the source of every vice in the catalogue of moral depravity up to the one single act of *acknowledging any* INDIVIDUAL *capable of exercising the sovereign authority!* Such a change could not fail to astonish Europe; and posterity will not be surprised that it produced results much more extensive than were immediately observed.

Among the most obvious of those effects was an almost universal paralysis of political opinion, which, insensibly, led all the parties in the different countries of the civilized world into an endless variety of inconsistencies, for which they could not themselves account.

This sentimental revolution led to a confirmed apathy in France, Germany, Prussia, Holland, Flanders, and even Italy itself, in a certain degree, although the war was still raging in that country and occupied its unrelieved attention. America and England were the only nations that retained the *semblance* of regard for political truth, and there the spirit of inconsistency continuing to operate, was more apparent.

From the completion of the first revolution in France

the political parties of Europe might have been classed under six descriptions:

First.—Those who, from personal attachments to the reigning governors, were determined to support their several systems, with all their corruptions unreformed:

Secondly.—Those who would have been willing to correct the abuses, if they could have preserved the reformed systems in the hands of the reigning governors, to whom they also were personally attached:

Thirdly.—Those, who, from personal resentment against the reigning governors, were desirous of magnifying the abuses of their administration for the mere gratification of their own malice, and not from any dislike to the abuses themselves:

Fourthly.—Those, who, without either attachments or resentments, had resolveed to get abuses reformed, be the consequences to the reigning governors what thy might:

Fifthly.—Those, who, from mere ambition, were always ready to inflame the popular resentment against the reigning governors, with the view of getting to reign themselves; of these, some would have reformed government, and some would have usurped without reforming it:

Sixthly.—Those, who, from being prejudiced in favour of particular forms of government, were, in all cases, willing to sacrifice both the governors and the governed to the establishment of their own systems.

To some of those sects the great mass of all nations were obliged to submit, alternately, as they happened to succeed; and it had been the fortune of those countries contiguous to France to be, occasionally, distracted by them all. In England, where the power of the government was sufficient to defy the censures of opposition, little regard had been paid during the whole Gallic struggle to these distinctions; but, in the general, all persons who urged the necessity of reform, however moderate their views, were branded, by the first class, with the most

odious epithets that could be bestowed upon malcontents and leaders of faction, whilst the violent reformers took as little pains to discriminate between the different motives that induced their contemporaries to dissent from their projects, so that they saw nothing but the most base and corrupted satellite of tyranny in every one who would have been contented to have had the state reformed through any other medium than their revolution.

Many of those persons had supposed that the success of the French arms was favourable to their views, and they had constantly wheeled about from change to change with every new form which the administrative authority of that country had assumed, because, in the language of the several proclamations, upon which those fleeting governments were founded, it was always stated that they were to extend the victories of France.

The liberties of the people could not be promoted by such partisans; for, like the builders of Babel, no one of them understood the other. The Government resorted to the artifice of stigmatizing every friend of liberty as a traitor, and the revolutionists considered no other quality than that of traitor necessary to constitute a friend of liberty. Now this vice, which the British Government was perpetually complaining of, was in reality its best security: for the English revolutionists formed all their ideas of liberty according to the last French definition, and thence acquired such a habit of relying upon French aid, that they never imagined themselves capable of the least exertions; and so long as the ministers could keep a French army from their coasts there was nothing that ought to have prevented them sleeping quietly in their beds.

The assumption of the government by Buonaparté operated as a kind of touchstone upon all parties: for his authority did not rest upon any principle that those who professed their attachment to liberty had not exploded; and, as far as regarded mere political rule, there

was not one of those principles which the British Government and its friends had not pointed out as the basis of good order. It was evident to all the world that the British minister had pursued the war for the sole purpose of discomfiting Jacobinism; and the First Consul had drank so deep of the spirit which actuated that minister that he laboured day and night for the same object; and yet, when he sued for that friendship which kindred spirits generally bear to each other, instead of acknowledging Buonaparté's merits, Mr. Pitt obstinately repulsed him, as if he had *really* been the "child and champion of Jacobinism."

It was equally evident, that all those who associated the affairs of France with the cause of liberty, professed to do so, only because they supposed that the success of France would lead to the establishment of governments founded upon the choice of the people, and acting for their good: but the catastrophe of the Legislative Body of France had proved that the voice of the people was entirely stifled: they had seen Buonaparté, at the head of his *gens-d'armes* and mamelukes, picking out such of the representatives of the people as he disliked and throwing them into dungeons, in the same manner as they had seen Pitt, at the head of his officers of police, throw their countrymen into solitary cells, under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act: yet, in the same breath, they could hold up Pitt as an *object of execration* and Buonaparté as a *pattern of imitation!*

Not a rational effort, not a rational suggestion in favour of liberty made its appearance in England after this period; and, if ever such an event should happen again, it will not be till that listless and torpid part of the community, which credulously follows the unexamined opinions of others, shall become wise enough to take the trouble of thinking for itself, and following such leaders as fairly explain their ultimate designs in clear and unequivocal terms.

The overthrow of Republicanism, by Buonaparte, placed the court, the ministers, the politicians, and the people of England, in a very different situation to what they were in before that event: yet none possessed discernment enough to discover the change but the small circle that formed the interior cabinet of St. James's. Great numbers of those who opposed the Government, whether from good or bad motives, had constituted the imitative mass already spoken of, who formed all their notions after the French fashion: with them the sovereign specific for all the disorders of mankind was "hatred to kings;" and they compounded their remedy with such a copious mixture of error, misrepresentation and malevolence, that the Court hardly needed the recollection of the fate of the unfortunate House of Bourbon to teach it the necessity of courting all the affection and all the talents that could be brought to its support. The danger was now over: the whole body of unprincipled reformers, the whole generation of apes, *were nonplused!* Representatives of the People, Committees of Public Safety, and Directors without number, they could have found at any time; but a First Consul they were totally unprovided with; it was an exigence altogether unforeseen: and it was evident that they must put up with an old King till they should find out a new Consul!

This one event did more towards confirming the abuses, known to exist in the English administration, than all the arbitrary acts and arbitrary imprisonments of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues; for it even divested that ministry of the engine by which it had maintained its own power, and reduced it to insignificance and contempt, even to the Court itself.

La Politique, a subject which, almost at all times, affords an Englishman a substitute for food, for health, for pleasure, for religion, and for happiness, now became disgusting. The unprincipled multitude could not disclose any of their present opinions without exposing

themselves to the ridicule of their own consciences; and the men of principle were so few, that they were driven into obscurity as idle dreamers, alike obnoxious to the deceivers and the deceived. The clamours of seven years, which had kept the country in constant agitation, had now evaporated; without one point having been gained for the benefit of the people, whilst their burdens were increased double; and, what was inconceivably worse, they had become so corrupted in mind that a new generation became necessary before any amendment could be hoped for.

The national character was changed, and the old English hospitality, that yet displayed its smiling face in 1793, was superseded by gaunt frugality and care; which treated generosity, in all its visits, as an impertinent interloper, and taught both rich and poor, the Jew as well as the Christian, the Philosopher as the Atheist, to unite in tormenting each other by the magical effect of—Love THYSELF—preserve THYSELF—take care of THYSELF.

The virtuous love of country was reduced to as low an ebb in England as in any despotism in Europe, and a sordid spirit of party had usurped its place: few persons were to be found whose views remained sufficiently liberal to contemplate the welfare of all classes equally. An anxiety to commit reprisals upon each other was the prevailing feeling that distracted every breast, politically considered; and the patriot struggle of *how much* was changed into *how little* each should do for his country.

The issue of the French Revolution had shewn, as far as it had gone, that a corrupt people were incapable of producing a pure government; and the argument was as applicable to the people of England as to the people of France; for those who approved of the French excesses would have committed them themselves, if they had had the same opportunity, and would have bowed their necks to a military tyrant in their own country as readily as they admired him in another. But none of the British

patriots had patriotism enough to remonstrate with their countrymen for this profligacy; if, therefore, any of the political wrestlers of England, who entered upon the 19th century, contend for principles more important than the difference between a King and a Consul, those principles are wholly concealed, and the wise reformers have not advanced two ideas before the Council of Five Hundred, who were "caught napping" at St. Cloud.

This abandonment of principle, on the part of the English reformers, surprised Buonaparté as much as did the personal enmity that the Pittites seemed to entertain against him. The press of France had long been rendered incapable of speaking any sentiment but that of the government; and the only appearance of free discussion that was preserved in Europe was by means of some occasional journals in Holland, and the gazettes supported by the English reformers. To those of Holland he paid no regard; because, as he kept a constant supply of troops in that country, he could as easily Bastile their authors and printers as he could those of France: to the firmness and consistency of "Burke's eighty thousand incorrigibles" he looked with more dread. He had figured to himself a club at Hamburgh, consisting of English, Irish, and French Jacobins, united to fulminate anathemas against an armed despotism, and to remind the French, that, "for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." He had expected that his own authority, joined to that of the Pitt ministry, would have been necessary to subdue an obstinate and stiff-necked race, equally obnoxious and troublesome to both: but when he found that the Pittites were so ill-acquainted with their own interests that they would hazard the restoration of the Republic rather than make peace with his Despotism, he conceived too contemptible an opinion of them to care whether he concluded peace with them or not; and, when he saw the reformers filing off to his Monarchy as complaisantly as if he had been chosen by universal suffrage, he regarded

them as a mere grumbling faction, whose best principles were their personal resentments, for the gratification of which they would readily follow any adventurer; and he saw that they might, one day, become the humble instruments, in his hands, of promoting his ambitious views upon their own country.

There is no example of baseness in the annals of mankind equal to the conduct of a collection of reformers at Paris, who had abjured their several countries on account of a congeniality of sentiment that they expected to find in France. No necessity whatever had called upon them to exile themselves: it was the *delicacy* of their sentiments alone which rendered them incapable of submitting to the authorities under which they were born, because they had exercised no voice in their election. Freedom, they pretended, was to be found under the republican form of government alone: to support this form, they taught, that every relation of life was to be dissolved and every social tie abandoned; yet the General, at the head of his grenadiers, had no sooner proclaimed himself Chief of their adopted country, than they obsequiously acknowledged as their sovereign, a man, whom they had, a few days before, familiarly addressed as their fellow citizen, and who had done more than almost any other person to persuade them that they ought never to submit to the sovereign rule!

Among those apostates were Germans, Italians, Swedes, Poles, Hollanders, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Americans; all the disciples of "equality and the rights of man," who, with their president, Paine, at their head, skulked into a pusillanimous obscurity, and never mustered courage enough to tell the world whether or not it ought to think itself sufficiently compensated, for ten years of warfare and the blood of two millions of its inhabitants, by having obtained a Buonaparté in lieu of a Bourbon!

The people of England, who, like all other nations, must of necessity be influenced by the French Revolution, never perceived that they were affected by it in a different way; but, placed in different circumstances, and owing to their own senseless stupidity, are very likely to lose all the advantages that their peculiar situation might afford them. During the continuance of the Republic the English reformers, or pretended reformers, assisted the press in some attempts to diffuse useful truths and general principles without consulting individuals interests; but, after the assumption of the Consulate, those poltroons found it unfashionable to profess their sentiments, and they would not support one newspaper that should assert the rights of the people! principles were forgotten and persons alone held up to observation. Parties that proffessed themselves the friends of Government, with all its corruptions and abuses, rallied themselves together by the most offensive calumnies upon the First Consul, and those who talked about reform fancied that they were forwarding their object wonderfully by dealing out his exaggerated praises: both were equally hypocritical, for neither believed so much as they pretended; the advocates of Government only holding up Buonaparté as an object of resentment in order to get rid of their own share, and the Reformers choosing that ground of contention to conceal their cowardice, inclined them to form a truce with corruptions, against which it was no longer fashionable to complain.

The acting politicans in England, since that period, have been little else than calumniators or panegyrists of Buonaparté: all the newspapers may be so divided; and so little of public virtue and political integrity is there to be found in the united kingdom, notwithstanding the vehemence of debate and the pretended love of freedom, that there is not a sufficient number of patriots in it to support a journal, in which their antagonists should have

the same right of propagating his sentiments that they claim for themselves!

Fine sentiments have certainly escaped from the lips of all the contending parties, in their turn; and, indeed, from an inattentive observer, those fine sentiments might gain as much credit as before the overthrow of the Republic: but many of the French Republicans uttered, from time to time, as plausible sentiments as could have issued from the lips of angels; yet they were only warring against the Calonne's, the Broglio's, and the Montmorency's of their old government, in order to raise themselves into financiers, intendants, and legionaries of honour, under a new one: self was at the bottom of all they did; and, while they pretended that they were actuated by a desire to raise the people, their real design was to raise themselves upon the credulity of the people. Their elevation was quite of a different kind to what they pretended; it was not to make the people greater than they were, nor the government less, but to make themselves equal to both: the English patriots, therefore, should produce something better than flowery speeches before their country will be in a condition to take the advantages from its peculiar situation which it might derive from the French Revolution.

Circumstanced as all parties were at the overthrow of the Republic, they were all equally interested in a candid inquiry after truth: it was their interest to have consigned Buonaparté to that degree of inattention, which a few months would have enveloped him in, if their perpetual exhibition of him had not forced him into GREATNESS; and to have employed themselves in examining the effects that the great change was likely to produce in the affairs of their own country.

These things could only have been learned by an unusual degree of industry in the investigation of truth, and patriotism could not have been displayed better than by

facilitating the attempt. But the English patriots have to take shame to themselves that they have contributed nothing for the service of their country but talk; they promise what they will do, but the time may not come till all those will be dead who are desirous of witnessing their zeal: for the present, it is much to be lamented, that, whatever their love of country may consist in, it is not in any endeavour to improve its soil its commerce, its manufactures, the knowledge of the sciences, the comforts of the people, nor the improvement of their morals. Is virtue rewarded or profligacy reformed? little credit can be claimed by them upon these grounds: and they are as criminally indifferent to the insipidity and base corruption of the press, as if they already lay prostrate before a First Consul of their own, and dreaded the exposure of folly and of crime.

In fine, whatever of generosity, of virtue, of courage, above the most vulgar kinds, existed in England before the Consulship of Buonaparté commenced, they are nothing more than matters of history to strangers who have arrived there since that period. If the people are now much better pleased with the Government than they were, it is not on account of its having been amended, but because all the vices, of which it is said to be composed, are practised by every private individual in his own concerns; and it is discovered that they cannot get rid of the oppressions of which they formerly complained without abandoning those which they exercise, in their turn. It is now generally understood by the English of all classes, except the poorest, that personal reform must be the price of the national reform: each one, for himself, has resolved that he will not begin first; and, of those who continue to murmur, most of them do it from mere habit, without desiring the least amendment whatever: nay, the majority of the reformers are so incorrigibly depraved, that if they could trace out one man

of sincerity amongst them, they would quit their common enemy to turn upon him, with the whole weight of their jealousies, surmises, misconstructions, and—if he resisted—calumnies, until they had made him appear as black as the most obnoxious of their opponents; and then they would tack about again—to preach reform!

THE END OF CHAP. XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Character of the War....Inactivity of the Allies....Alertness of the French....Peace in the Departments....Proclamation of General Brune to the Vendeans, &c....Campaign opens on the Rhine....Victories of the French....Valour of the Austrians....Their Hopes, and retreat across the Danube ....Arrival of Buonaparté at Dijon....Obstacles opposed to the Army of Reserve....Successes of General Melas in the South....Consequences....Relative Situation of the Armies.

ALTHOUGH the war had now resumed so much of the character of former wars, as to be a war of persons and not of principles, it still claimed a part of its own originality, as it was conducted by new men on the side of France; whilst, on the side of the Allies it was left to the management of the poor besotted race of antiquated courtiers, of which the old governments were composed, and whose spleen and pride rendered them so unwieldy, that they could only make one motion, in the time that a Frenchman would make three.

Much valuable time had been wasted in attempts to change the mind of the Emperor of Russia, when his inflexible resolution to desert the confederacy was declared in a way that deprived the Allies of all grounds to expect his co-operation. Buonaparté had availed himself of the season of suspense to employ the active General Brune, *ci-devant* commander in chief in Holland, to allay the troubles in the Western departments, and concilitate the inhabitants by relaxing the severities which the mistaken policy of the Republic had exercised there.

These Royalists acted with more consistency than any other description of people whom the Revolution had a tendency to affect: they did not principally fight for the family of Bourbon, but against the tyranny of the Re-

public; and, when that tyranny was overthrown, they had no sufficient motive for continuing in arms. A short truce was granted them by the French generals, which, being dulcified by a general amnesty, and some ameliorations in religious arrangements, closed by an amicable adjustment. Georges and Froté, two enterprising chiefs of the Insurgents were included in the amnesty; but it was afterwards discovered, (or said to be so by Buonaparté's generals) that the peace had been treacherously entered into by the rebel generals and officers, with a view of gaining time, till one of the Bourbon princes could be landed: whether true or false, Frotté, and many others, were shot for the treason, and Brune announced the termination of the war in a Proclamation to the Vendeans, &c.

ARMY OF THE WEST.

"*Brune Counsellor of State, General in Chief, to the Inhabitants of the Departments of Morbihan, Finisterre, and the Cotes du Nord.*

"At length you touch upon the termination of your calamities: tranquillity springs up again in your countries, lately the prey of civil dissensions. The chiefs of these unhappy dissensions have heard the voice of reason; they wish to draw the attention of their country only to their inviolable fidelity: the Catholic priests must make the words of peace, union, and justice be heard. The affections of all attach themselves to a Government which pardons, and surrounds our glorious Republic with the esteem of the universe.

"Of what import is it whether those, whom jealous——subsidizes, return to hide their shame in the icy caverns of the North, or come back again to the centre of Europe, in search of new disgraces? The most terrible enemies of the French were the French themselves: incendiary torches were prepared against Brest, and its fleets;—and some Frenchmen were to have been the instruments of that crime! oh shame!

"But the compact with the foreign foe has been trampled under foot! The rocks of Morbihan and Finisterre shall be in future, more terrible to our enemies than the tempests. Concord is restored amongst us.

"Sailors, who have been led astray! return to those ports, once rich with your courage and your activity: the government invites you. Buonaparté, who has given to the army so much glory, wishes

to raise again the French navy, and recal that celebrated æra, when Duquay, Trouin, and all those heroes, your countrymen, dispersed and destroyed the English squadrons, and confirmed the liberty of the seas.

" Deserters! the country consents to pardon you, but it wishes to see you with laurels; go, and receive them at the frontiers. Workmen! who have laid aside the peaceable instruments of husbandry, to charge your hands with parricidal steel, be tranquil in your cottages; your wives, your children, your aged parents, demand your tenderness and your care: the earth waits only for your labour, to repay you with its grateful productions. Bet every one resume his usual occupation; abundance will return with order. Under a just and respected government every Frenchman is the master of his own happiness; and it is the happiness of every individual that composes public felicity. General peace will confirm to us all these blessings.

" Youthful inhabitants of the towns and country! you will not neglect to seize your portion of glory. Do not suffer peace to come without having done anything to obtain it. I know that you have been sensible to the charms of valour. I, myself, will organize the battalions when you shall voluntarily come to enrol yourselves; and I shall inform Buonaparté that I have found men of Brittany worthy of their ancient renown.

" Citizens, let us all forget the past! let the term 'Chouans,' be banished from conversation: let us banish every allusion that might remind us of our public or private misfortunes. A new career opens itself to our view: it is from this point we must set out, and not attempt to look behind. Every thing connected with cival war is forgotten: but, remember, that a government sufficiently strong to pardon must not be forced to punish.

" Done at the head quarters at Vannes, 1st of March, 8th Year of the French Rupublic, one and indivisible.

" Brune, General in Chief."

The termination of the civil wars released a considerable body of troops, who were dispatched forthwith to the armies. Carnot, the Minister of War, and General Moreau, had convinced the Consul that the issue of the campaign would greatly depend upon a severe blow being struck in the heart of Germany, where he had already signalized himself with so much honour to his military talents. Fortune favoured this plan; for, after the Archduke had left the Austrian army, the Aulic Council had

resolved to transfer the theatre of war to Italy. The first effort of Moreau was to cross the Rhine into the Brisgaw, between Strasburgh and Huninguen.

General Kray, successor to the Archduke, arranged his army in four divisions, under Generals Kollowrath Klinglin, Stzarray, and Klenau. Two armies of reserve were ordered to be formed, by authority of the Aulic Council of Vienna, one of them to recruit the army of Italy and the other to be stationed in Bohemia; and the Bavarian troops, in the pay of Great Britain, were assembled at Donauwerth, under the Duke of Deux-Ponts. Orders were received at the head-quarters of the Austrian army about the middle of April, for opening the campaign, but hostilities did not commence till the 25th, by the left wing of the French army, in the passage of the Rhine commanded by St. Susanne, and St. Cyr, at fort Kehl, and new Brisach, thirty-five miles South of the former. A variety of skirmishes took place in the Brisgaw, attended with little advantage to the hostile armies, only that the French general succeeded in deceiving the Austrians, as to the real point he designed to attack.

General St. Susanne obliged the Austrians to fall back on Offenburg, while St. Cyr made himself master of Freiburg; and another division, under Richepanse, was ordered to march through Basil, with instructions to take a position in the vicinity of Schillenger. While St. Cyr appeared to meditate a passage by the defiles of the valley of Kintzig, under the pretext of forming a junction with St. Susanne, and force his way through the Black Forest, this latter general left the Austrians to wait for him, again crossed the Rhine, and ascending it on the French side, again re-crossed it, and posted himself at Freiburg, thirty miles North-east by North of Basil, which had been left by St. Cyr for the purpose of marching against St. Blaise, twenty-five miles South-east of the former.

Generals Delmas and Leclerc were ordered to set out

from Basil for Seckingen: General Richepanse was ordered to go against St. Blaise at once to support the movement of General St. Cyr, and the right wings of Delmas and Leclerc. General Delmas, with four battalions, forced the Austrians positions on the Alb, and pursued the enemy with so much speed that they could not destroy the bridge. Two pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners, were taken by the French in this affair; at the same time General Richepanse repulsed four battalions who advanced from St. Blaise, and took 150 prisoners.

While the French were thus manœuvring, the Austrians were resisting several divisions of the enemy, which resolved to carry the positions of the Black Forest, towards the sources of the Danube. Moreau, in the mean time, having dispatched a considerable body of troops, and sent reinforcements to the right wing of his army, under Lecourbe, gave orders for crossing the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Stein, and attacked the rear of the Austrian army. This manœuvre was so unexpected by the Austrians, that the passage of the river was effected without any material loss; and Lecourbe, in about three hours after, posted himself on the right side. He engaged the Austrians under Fort Hohenwiel, eleven miles North-east of Schaffhausen; he gained the fort by capitulation, and made 800 prisoners, after which he directed his route on the rear of the Imperial army at Stockach, twenty-four miles North-east of Schaffhausen, while Moreau, with the centre and left divisions, marched on to the village of Engen. After the end of eight days, from the opening of the campaign, the French were not only in possession of Offenbourg, Freisbourg, St. Blaise, and Hohenwid, but they had obliged General Kray to abandon the advantageous camp at Donaueschingen, to which the Archduke had advanced after the defeat of the French at Stockach, in the former year. The French had already taken nine pieces of cannon, and 1,500 prisoners; and they were

evidently not worse situated than at the close of the last campaign.

General Kray was now fully undeceived as to the designs of Moreau, and he assembled the main body of his army, which had been considerably dispersed; but so perfectly ignorant were the Austrians of the force they had to encounter, that they could not collect a sufficient army to face the enemy, though they had been all the winter preparing. The main army could not advance for fear of leaving the Archduke Ferdinand, Generals Ginlay, and Kienmayer, with their corps, in danger of being cut off, they not being able to run so fast from Offenbourg, and Friebourg as the French ran after them.

In the mean time, Lecourbe fell in with a body of Austrian troops, under the command of Prince Joseph of Lorraine, in the vicinity of Stockach, which he defeated with very great loss, and pursued them beyond that town, after taking a vast number of cannon, besides magazines and stores.

Moreau attacked them at Engen, and, after a desperate conflict, carried every one of their posts, and being nearly surrounded, they retreated during the night towards Moskirch, twenty-four miles North-east by East of Engen. The loss sustained by the Austrians on the 3rd of May, in the vicinity of Stockach, was upwards of 10,000 men, in which number 4,000 prisoners were included. The singular mode of attack adopted by Moreau was not foreseen by the enemy, and, consequently, the Imperialists sustained a prodigious loss in magazines and baggage. With such rapidity did the Austrians retreat, that the French found it impossible to keep pace with them, although they wished to allow them no time to collect their forces. Kray was astonished at all he had beheld of the masterly generalship of Moreau; yet, as he had a formidable army under his command, he was determined to stop the career of the French army, or make their advance cost them dear. The Archduke Ferdinand had not joined the army

at that time of the battle of Engen; and the counsellors of the Austrian camp could only account for the strength of Moreau's army, by believing that five divisions had been *lent* to him from the camp at Dijon.

By the loss of Stockach and Engen, which General Kray had fortified, the whole of a country where he expected to make a vigorous defence, and every position between Donaueschingen and the Rhine was taken by the French: he had now to contend against the menacing route of the French army, determined to penetrate into the very heart of Germany. He got, by virtue of his rapid retreat, between Moreau and the final object of his march, took a position at Moskirch, and waited the assult of the French General. At Moskirch the Austrian army was joined by the corps of Prince Joseph, General Grinlay, the Bavarians in the pay of England, and the Archduke Ferdinand, who had displayed much skill in his retreat, having contrived to take three pieces of cannon and some prisoners from the French. The army of General Kray amounted to near 40,000 men, General Moreau's to full that number. Both armies were in high spirits. Moreau had now his antagonist before him, and he arranged his army for an immediate engagement, one division of it being commanded by himself in person, and another by General St. Cyr, stationed between Stockach and the Danube. The battle began on the plain before the wood of Grembach, of which place the French soon made themselves masters. The Austrians, whose artillery was far superior to that of the French, made every effort to turn the left wing of the enemy, and fought with desperate valour, from the recollection of the signal victory which had been gained over them only the day before. Their attacks were extremely brisk, and it required all the cool and steady courage of Moreau, and such an army as he commanded, to meet them. Three times forced, by the valour and impetuosity of the Austrians, to change their post they manœuvred with the greatest calmness,

and as often recovered their ground. In all probability, the fate of this day would have been favourable for the Austrians, had not Richepanse come up with the division under his command, which turned the scale in favour of the French, the Imperialists being forced to retreat a second time, with the loss of about 9,000 men.

These extraordinary defeats, induced Moreau to conclude that Kray would return to Ulm; but extremely averse to the making of such a sacrifice, while his army was respectable, he took the intervening line of the Riss, which he gained by forced marches, and where he was determined to wait the result of another battle, but where the French did not long permit him to continue.

Possessed of the hights in front of the Riss, Kray deemed himself secure; but two divisions, under St. Cyr, had previously got possession of Biberach, which these heights commanded. Richepanse finding himself so powerfully supported, after sustaining a heavy fire of artillery for four hours, crossed the river, and made himself master of this strong position: his cavalry crossed the bridge at the town, in defiance of a tremendous fire, and gained the rear of the Austrian infantry. To this bold manœuvre the Republicans were indebted for the good fortune of the day. The Imperialists were forced to retreat a third time, after losing 3,000 taken prisoners, and 2,000 left dead on the field.

Thus repeatedly vanquished, Kray was obliged to collect his forces around Ulm. He was joined by the corps of Kienmayer and Watteville, (Swiss in the English pay) and other powerful reinforcements, which increased his army to near 60,000 men. Moreau fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen, extending his right wing to Augsburg and Landsperg, fifty-three miles South by East of Donawerth, and the same distance from Ulm, in a South-east direction, augmenting his force also, by all the troops that could be drawn from Switzerland. The French were here attacked by the Austrians, when a desperate

engagement ensued, and victory again declared in their favour, the enemy having retreated in disorder across the Danube, after the loss of 2,000 men taken prisoners. Kray, now finding it impossible to check the victorious career of the French army, by offensive operations, resolved to maintain his post at Ulm, in the hope of receiving supplies from Vienna. The designs of this veteran were soon comprehended by General Moreau, who knew that Kray commanded both banks of the Danube while in his entrenched camp; and, therefore, he resolved to cross the river below Ulm, and thus cut off the Austrian commander from his magazines at Donawerth, as well as his expected aid from the interior of Germany. While the French marched towards the Danube, Kray comprehending their intention, strongly reinforced the left bank of the river, to oppose their passage. The engagement took place at Hochstet. and victory was again propitious to the French; the Imperial army having lost 4,000 men, independent of the killed and wounded.

Kray, seeing the danger of his situation, collected his troops together, after leaving a strong garrison at Ulm, and crossed the Danube at Newburgh, as if he designed to make the enemy abandon the left bank of that river in the vicinity of Ulm. A battle ensued, which raged with fury till night, when the Austrians were compelled to retreat, and fall back upon Ingolstadt: by this retreat the French became masters of the electorate of Bavaria; Ulm was blockaded; and Moreau's army marched forward, and fixed its head-quarters at Munich, without farther trouble or molestation.

In the course of these exertions many inferior actions took place between detached corps, with various success, but all had a tendency to serve the French, as they led to the state of things for which both Moreau and the First Consul were exerting themselves, namely, to disable Austria from sending any supplies to General Melas in Italy.

Moreau had now so well secured himself by the fortresses that he held in Switzerland and Bavaria, that he was able to spare 25,000 men to strengthen the army of reserve, by way of Switzerland.

About the period that the campaign was opened on the Rhine, the army of reserve began its march from Dijon: the government announced it to be at that time 50,000 strong, and receiving reinforcements every day. The Chief Consul made it no secret, that he was to take upon himself the chief command: on the 5th of May, he arrived at Dijon, where he reviewed the army. Ridiculous and chimerical as the Allies treated the Consul's idea of leading his army to victory by way of the Alps; Buonaparté, trusting to the resources of his invincible mind, promised his troops at Dijon, that in two decades he would lead them to Milan! It was incredible, and the unbounded confidence of his army, was necessary to receive such an assurance in any other light than the vapouring of a coxcomb. The Consul had performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-five hours, and he lost no time to transmit an account of his arrival to the Second and Third Consuls at Paris. Before the Allies knew of his departure he had taken up his residence in the Valais, at the House of Convalescense, belonging to the Monks of St. Bernard! there he continued three days, and made himself acquainted with all the local obstacles that he had to surmount.

From the foot of Mount St. Bernard the army began to encounter difficulties which might have been considered as insurmountable, but enthusiasm and perseverance conquered them all. The troops had to draw their artillery along a road scarcely three feet in breadth, in many places almost perpendicular; and over mountains of snow, which, yielding to the pressure of the feet, threatened to bury the passenger in unfathomable gulphs: a very inconsiderable force would have been sufficient to arrest their progress, but they experienced no opposition.

Had the Russians continued in the confederacy, there would, doubtless, have been a sufficient force left in the *Val di Aoste*, to have prevented the possibility of crossing the Alps; but it is evident, that the Austrians had not troops enough to meet the determined resistance of the French soldiers, and the consummate talents of the General. The courage and unconquerable perseverance of the army of Italy had occupied all the attention of Melas, and the flower of the Austrian army, during the whole winter; and, though few in number, required the unceasing vigilance of very extensive forces to keep them from escaping. At length, General Melas having securely blockaded Massena in the town of Genoa, turned his arms against General Suchet, whom he had formerly separated from the main body of the French army. Suchet, who had but a small body of troops, kept up a war of posts, which answered the chief purpose of his government, that of gaining time; yet he was forced to abandon his position at Col de Tende, and retreat before superior numbers. The Austrians, by the middle of May were on the frontiers of France, and Suchet, finding it impossible to retain Nice any longer, gave orders for its evacuation, making good his retreat across the Var, and thereby putting the whole martime Alps in possession of Melas. The principal advantages gained by the Austrians in consequence of these movements, was a temporary consternation in the Southern departments, but which was presently allayed, by a

PROCLAMATION

Of the PREFECT of the DEPARTMENT of the VAR to the MUNICIPAL AGENTS.

Draguignon, May 9th.

"TEMPORARY successes, due to numbers rather than to courage, have opened to the enemy the road to our frontiers; they menace those of your departments; if they wish to force them, they shall find their tombs; of this they have several times had fatal experience. But it might be possible that malevolence may profit by our momentary reverses to excite troubles. You are magistrates of the people, you ought to know what are your duties, and your responsibility: it is in difficult moments that our faculties ought to be enlarged, and

that our devotion ought to be ulimited: we must set the example of sacrifices.

"Prepare your fellow citizens to defend themselves with the energy of a free people, should our sacred territory be profaned: let every man become a soldier; let every thing be used for arms, should we be in want of them. Our mountains, our positions, place us in a state to defend ourselves with our single means; we should be invincible, for it is our freedom that we defend. At your voice, let that love of your country, which produced our first successes, awake in all hearts; let every one arise, and be ready to obey that terrible cry, which I am about to cause to be heard.—TO ARMS!

"Health and Fraternity, G. FAUCHET."

Whatever objects Melas had in view, by pursuing Suchet, he was evidently promoting those of Buonaparté; for every step his troops took towards the department of the Var led him from the grand source of mischief that was preparing against him, and which he ought to have been present to frustrate. It was certainly of consequence to prevent any kind of communication between Massena and Suchet; but, with a powerful English fleet in the gulph of Genoa, it would only have been necessary to secure the *Col de Tende* to have answered that purpose; and a small force acting with an energy similar to that of Suchet and his corps, would have secured that pass.

Whether it was the genius of the Consul, or of the Minister of War, that planned the campaign, has been a matter of dispute among their respective friends; but these are subjects of contention that the real friends of France would never enter into. The arrangement itself evinced so much brillancy of talent, and its execution so much military skill, that the competitors would lose no part of their credit, if they were to admit that the united geniuses of Carnot, Moreau, and Buonaparté had all contributed in the planing and executing such a grand design.

The power of the Allies was now entirely diveded. A glance on the map, shews the armies of Melas and Kray,

as it were, at the two extremities of a tranverse line, of immense length, and the French army placed between them: not contenting itself with the nibbling warfare of dividing such corps as those of Massena and Suchet, but preparing itself to dissolve the whole power of the Confederacy, and lay it prostrate at the foot of France.'

THE END OF CHAP. XXIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

Extraordinary military Preparations....Passage of Mount St. Bernard....Aoste and Chatillon taken....Difficulties at Fort de Barre and the Rock Albaredo....Labours and Fatigues of the Consul....Ivrea, Romagno, and Vercelli taken.

THE Army of Reserve, led on by General Lasnes, commander of the vanguard, saw everywhere flying before it the terrified inhabitants, who, alarmed at the distant view of so many soldiers, deserted their abodes and sought shelter among the rocks of ice and snow. They had already reached St. Peter, at the verge of the great mountain St. Bernard, on the 15th of May, General Berthier acting as commander-in-chief, or, rather, as Buonaparté's lieutenant. At St. Peter the whole park of artillery and ammunition was collected; but of what use was it to the army? they had to meet the enemy on the other side of the Alps; and, if Hanibal had crossed these mountains before, it was because he had not such heavy and embarrassing ordanance to transport.

The height of the mountain, over which it was necessary for them to pass, was one thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea: it requires two days to climb to the top of it; not because of its height, but on account of the ice, which constantly envelopes it.

The naturalists who travel among these mountains furnish themselves with a long stick, a hatchet, and cramp-irons, to prevent them from sliding: it is also necessary to be provided with food and with guides.

In summer as well as in winter these almost inaccessible rocks swallow up many an incautious travelier who has the temerity to stray among them: stupendous blocks

of ice sometimes roll from the top of Mount Voland, capable of burying two hundred persons!

Upon the Great St. Bernard is a monastery of Bernardins—a religious order of men, who are perfectly satisfied with three months of summer and three hours of fine weather in a day, during this fleeting season, in exchange for the numerous privations that they are obliged to suffer in this dreary abode, in consequence of its affording them unusual opportunities of doing good.

The monastery has much the appearance of a large inn; and there are, beside, at a small distance, two other houses, which depend upon it. Here, as at many convents on the continent, are good stores of every thing agreeable and comfortable, accompanied with suavity and kindness, which money cannot so well procure when it is exchanged against, as articles of barter.

Among the ingenious acts of benevolence that these voluntary exiles practise, for the benefit of their fellow creatures, is the pains they take in instructing the canine species to alleviate and reduce the number of accidents peculiar to the vicinity. Morning and evening the dogs of the monastery are sent out to explore the frozen caverns of the heights; and if, in their journies of discovery, they hear the cries of any unfortunate creature, they run towards the spot, express their joy, and exert all the powers of their instinct to encourage the hopes of the engulphed sufferers to expect assistance. They hasten back to the convent, and, with an air of disquietude announce what they have seen: upon such occasions a small basket is fastened round the dog's neck, filled with food proper for re-animating life, and proper persons are dispatched with the sagacious messenger to assist in snatching the unfortunate creatures from destruction.

The curiosity of the French, and the consternation of the inhabitants at their approach, filled many a craving aperture in these yawning gulphs with unexpected death.

It was soon reported in the camp that the chapel was filled with dead bodies, that the dogs had discovered in the snow: a sense of danger made so strong an impression upon the minds of the French, that they caressed these dogs with such emotions of pleasure as at once bespoke their apprehensions and gratitude.

The sight and description of this mountain was, of itself, enough to subdue the hardiest veteran, without his possessing a French imagination to magnify the dangers. The cold is excessive, even in the middle of summer; not a tree, or even a small shrub, is there to remind one of the empire of vegetation: no herb nor green leaf offers a pleasing verdure: birds never haunt these regions or repose in them from weariness of flight! It has pleased nature to leave this part wild and barren: a vast extent of snow, on every side, yields a melancholy and monotonous prospect: rocks of a greyish colour, great heaps of ice—an immense perspective of mountains in a chain, always white, and a frightful silence! from the contemplation of all which the mind is never interrupted but by the sight of clouds, that either appear to precipitate themselves at the foot of the mountain or to surround you entirely. Such are the gloomy beauties which are to be seen in the face of nature by travellers who visit these elevated points of our hemisphere.

Who could believe that men have consented to associate in these high mountain-tops, and make it their principal occupation to succour the unfortunate who are in danger of perishing, and who often do perish, in these dangerous passes!

Whenever the winds, the rain, the hail, or the snow, have, during winter, covered or spoiled the foot-path, the guides of the country come with their mules, in order to discover the traces; and then, to restore it, they pass and repass over it, till it is again practicable; this operation continues sometimes four or five days: if it happens at that time, which is sometimes the case, that a frost sets

in, as severe as it can be in Russia, that favourable moment is seized for provisioning the monastery.

During the summer this passage is not much less difficult and dangerous: the rains penetrating into the mountains of snow melt them, in a manner scarcely visible; large cavities are formed therein, over which the traveller walks, unaware, until, all on a sudden, a gulph opens under his steps, and occasions him to disappear in the twinkling of an eye! A hard frost is preferred, because any one may then safely travel over the snow.

At two hundred paces below the convent is situated a lake, the depth of which is not known, and which is scarcely ever thawed: the snow collects in heaps, and covers in such a manner the frozen surface of these passages, that travellers often slide under it without being able to avoid it. Till this period of time neither artillery nor ammunition had crossed either mountain: however, it became necessary to consider the question, What is an army, in the present day, without artillery? its necessity in this respect was imperious. In vain did infinite obstacles present themselves to frighten the most ardent imaginations: everything was foreseen by the Genius which conceived this daring enterprise, and everything was contrived to carry it into full execution.

The artillery corps immediately set about dismounting the cannon, caissoons, forges, &c. piecemeal. Gassendi, Inspector of Ordnance, was ordered to hollow a number of the trunks of trees after the nature of troughs, in which the pieces of cannon might safely slide, and which five or six hundred men, according to the weight of metal, were appropriated to draw up these tremendous heights: the wheels were carried by hand upon poles; and sledges, made expressly for the purpose, at Auxonne, conveyed the axletrees and the empty caissoons; and, lastly, mules were loaded with ammunition in boxes made of fir.

In order to encourage this very arduous labour, from four to five hundred livres were offered for every cannon,

with its ammunition, so conveyed: the exertion of a whole battalion was requisite for the conveyance of one field-piece, with its necessary ammunition: one half of a regiment could only draw the load while the other half was obliged to carry the knapsacks, firelocks, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and, more especially, five days provisions, in bread, meat, salt, and biscuit! The whole of these accoutrements and necessaries might make a weight of between sixty and seventy pounds. The men yoked themselves, about one hundred to a cable, and in this manner they dragged the cannon up the mountains General Marmont commanded upon this memorable occasion.

The heavy baggage was sent back to Lausanne, the Consul himself only taking what might be deemed absolutely necessary. The first division of the army, commanded by General Watrin, followed the movement of the vanguard; the main body of the army followed at no great distance. They were obliged to ascend one by one: nobody was tempted to endeavour to get before his comrade, as it might have occasioned his being irrecoverably swallowed up in the snow. The head of the Indian file column halted every now-and-then, of which advantage was always taken by the soldiers to allay their thirst, by soaking their biscuits in the water of the melted snow; and, such were the fatigues of the passage, that these refreshments appeared to them quite delicious.

It took five hours to clamber as high as the monastery; at that time every one was indulged with a glas of wine. "This very liquor, though actually frozen (says Monsieur Petit) warmed us and recruited our strength; no one, not even the most avaricious among us, would have exchanged that single draught for all the gold in Mexico.

"We had still a journey of six lergues to make, but the rapidity of the descent rendered those eighteen miles truly terrible: at every step we met with deep crevices, formed by the melting of snow; and it was in vain we

held our horses fast by the closed reins of their bridles, that did not preserve them from dangerous, and sometimes fatal, slides: the men themselves, in spite of all their precautions, often fell; and, whatever difficulties they suffered in recovering themselves, they still ran the risk of drawing their horses out of the path and perishing with them."

Buonaparté entered the Monastery, accompanied by the prior of the House of Convalescence, who had followed us; but he staid there only an hour, when, on quitting it, he exhorted these respectable hermits to continue to deserve well of humanity.

The Consul's mules and horses were in the train of the army; for his own part, being willing, no doubt, to rejoin it by the shortest road, he entered a path which some infantry pursued. Towards the middle of this march the descent was so steep that he was obliged to slide down it, upon his breech, from a height of about two hundred feet; and, in crossing the lake before mentioned, he had very nearly been swallowed up by a collection of thawed snow. The holes, into which the soldiers fell every instant, rendered this part of their journey over the mountains more fatiguing than the ascending them: they had commenced their march at midnight and did not arrive at the end of it till nine o'clock in the evening; for fourteen leagues they had scarcely eaten any food, yet extreme fatigue, and great want of sleep, made them easily forget the badness of their supper.

Before Buonaparté ascended the mountain he wrote to his brother Lucien, Minister of the Interior, a Letter, which arrived at Paris on the 23rd of May, dated

Markgni, May 18th, at night.

"I am at the foot of the Great Alps, in the midst of the Valais. The Great St. Bernard offered many obstacles, which have been surmounted. The third of the artillery is in Italy: the army is descending by forced marches. Berthier is in Piedmont. In three days all will be over.

"BUONAPARTE."

The advanced guard, under General Lasnes, took a few hours to refresh their harassed bodies and marched to attack Aoste, capital of the dutchy of that name, and the first town in Piedmont. The inhabitants are a simple people, quite indifferent as to who governs them. An Hungarian battalion attempted to defend the town, but it was obliged to retire with loss, when a deputation of the place set out to wait upon the Consul with compliments of surrender.

From hence the army proceeded to Chatillon, a town also in the dutchy of Aoste, situated on the Doria Baltea, three leagues South-east of Aoste. General Lasnes, in advancing towards it, was informed that the enemy was disposed to make a resistance on a draw-bridge, constructed on a precipice, over which, so as to avoid this pass, it was not possible for infantry to make their way. Without a moment's hesitation the chief of brigade, Fournier, sprang forwards, and with the 12th hussars, attacked them in so brisk a manner, that in a short time the force which had advanced to defend the pass was overthrown or sabred, and the passage cleared of every man of the enemy, who lost 40 of Ferdinand's hussars prisoners, with 200 infantry, and a three-pounder, which composed the whole of their artillery. The fugitives were pursued as far as Fort de Barre, having only bare time to raise the draw-bridge after them. The impetuosity of the French here led them into a mistake, which decidedly proves, that, if they had been matched by an enemy any way their equal, either in vigilance or resources, it would not have been difficult to have stopped their progress. In choosing to pass the fort they had taken the most dangerous routes. To communicate a just idea of the difficulties to be encountered at the fort, or rather rock, de Barre; it is necessary only to describe its military and geographical situation:

Under a military point of view, this rock stopped short

the whole army, and pent it up as it were in a narrow neck, where four days would have been sufficient to have exhausted the whole of their subsistence, and which the difficult and toilsome passage over Mount St. Bernard, had left no means of supplying. With respect to its geographical consideration, nature, without any aid from art, had formed this rock of such materials, that it might truly be considered as impregnable; and, to render its accessibility the more difficult, had conferred on it the form of a sugar-loaf. The road is at its foot, which is watered by the Doria, a deep, rapid, and dangerous river, whose opposite bank is also formed of high rocks, inaccessible to man, and which serve only for the habitation of marmonts and screechowls. To the left of the arch are seen other rocks, not less elevated than the former, but less impracticable, being even strewed, here and there, with vines, to which the sad inhabitants of this country have access, by means of steps cut in the rocks.

There was but one of two courses to pursue, that of taking the fort by assult, or of seeking for another passage, which, by avoiding the fort, might enable the army to pursue its route. Each of these measures appeared to bid equal defiance to force and ingenuity. But the genius of Buonaparté inspired the whole body, and it was on this occasion, more perhaps than on any other, proved, that *nothing is impossible to him who is resolved to effect his object.*

Three companies of grenadiers possessed themselves of the suburbs of the place, and lodged therein. During the day they hid themselves, that they might not be cannonaded by the guns of the fort. But, nevertheless, through the casements they shot all those who shewed themselves through the embrasures and notches of the wall, and in this way greatly disquieted the enemy.

It has already been observed, that art had left the fortification of the rock de Barre to nature entirely. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, a garrison of 500 men, several

mortars, with some advanced works, defended its approach, which the above means rendered very difficult.

About eleven o'clock at night, by the light of the moon, the chief of brigade of the 56th, at the head of several companies of grenadiers, marched silently across the great blocks of stone and rock scattered here and there, reached the pallisades, climbed over them, amidst a shower of balls, and forced the enemy, with the bayonet at their backs, from work to work, till, full of terror, they retired in disorder within the castle; all this while the cannon was thundering, and the firing of the musketry incessant. Canister shot, grenades, and howitzers, for some time checked the impetuosity of the French. Rollers from the top of the parapet were thrown down with precipitancy upon the assailants, and crushed many to death on the spot; the chief of brigade himself was mortally wounded in this manner. In this situation a retreat was thought adviseable: it was effected without confusion, but the French had to regret the loss of a number of intrepid soldiers, killed or badly wounded.

It was now absolutely necessary to avoid the fort. By dint of perseverence in research, it was found, after clambering from one flight of steps to another, that the rock called Albaredo was to be escaladed, whence the men might, though with inconceivable difficulty, descend again, or rather roll down, on the other side. All the while they ascended those steps, a battery played upon them unceasingly: they took the precaution, as fast as they got up, to incline ten or twelve paces, sheltered in some degree from the enemy's shot. That was not all they had to do; for before they had ascended three parts of the way, they were openly exposed during the space of ten minutes; and this inconvenience suggested the expediency of raising a light piece of four-pound ordnance to the place, which, by incredible efforts, was accomplished, through a cleft in the rock, though the height was 1,200 feet. This single, but serviceable gun,

fired unceasingly upon the enemy's battery, which it fully exposed and commanded. The advanced guard in this manner ascended the rock, though not without extreme difficulty, since they were obliged to follow one by one. Here, as on Mount St. Bernard, the troops were obliged to lie upon their arms.

The cavalry were still more fatigued than the infantry, for the horses were obliged, like the native goats, to leap from stone to stone; and, astonishing as it is to relate, it is not the less true, that, guided by a powerful and unerring instinct, they knew how to avoid the misfortune of rolling headlong down the dreadful precipices! nevertheless, in this way, the French lost a number of these valuable creatures, as well as some mules.

The ascending place of the rock of Albaredo was less practicable than Mount St. Bernard, it was therefore, deemed indispensible to make use of the suburbs of Basseville, cost what it might, with respect to its exposure. Precautions, unheard of before, were taken for the marching through it. Haybands were twisted round the wheels of all the carriages, and the paved road covered with dung, in order to deaden their sound as they proceeded. Thirty men were harnessed, one before another, to a piece of ordnance, or ammunition tumbril, ready to seize the moment when they might make the least noise possible: but sometimes the enemy was aware of what was doing, and would fire upon them, many were killed or wounded. The French posted a cannon in the belfry of the church, in the suburbs, which was able to batter in breach, and effectually to demolish a tower above the gate of the castle: but the force which defended it, seeing themselves deprived of every help, and fearing an assault, surrendered prisoners of war.

The first Consul went several times, accompanied by General Berthier, to view the works of the enemy. He ascended the mountain on foot, and continued several hours upon its summit, whence the eye could easily and

fully survey the castle. Greatly fatigued by the laborious ascent, and rendered faint by the extreme heat of the whether, he laid himself down in the open air, and fell asleep. Each of the soldiers, as they filed before him, contemplated his person with peculiar interest, and took particular care not to interrupt that repose so necessary to his existence, and, which had, as it were, been forced upon him.

Having surmounted these dangers and difficulties, a division under General Boudet proceeded to Ivrea, and reached that place on the 23rd of May. The enemy had a garrison in the citadel, which seemed at first determined to defend the town, but they were too few in number to resist the vast power that was advancing against them. The French took 14 pieces of cannon, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and 200 prisoners, besides twice that number in pursuing them from thence towards Turin.

The Marquisate in which Ivrea is situated was founded by Charlemagne. It is situated partly in a plain, and partly on a hill, and contains about 7,000 inhabitants. There are still some remains of an ancient fortress, called Il Castellazzo, supposed to have been built by Ardouin, first marquis of Ivrea. Its inhabitants are the descendants of a Romam colony, sent thither during the sixth Consulship of Marius. It is about eight leagues North of Turin.

The main army having climbed over the mountain of Albaredo, in the manner described, filed off by this town, which seasonably furnished the troops with bread, wine meat, and rice, objects so indispensibly necessary to their subsistence. No sooner were they supplied with these articles, than their hearts were again elated with joy; and the present abundance effaced the remembrance of the cruel hardships and privations they had endured.

Here it will be proper, to relate an occurence, which will shew, in a striking manner, how little the Allies seem

to have been prepared for the disasters which were suspended over their heads.

Four or five thousand of the fugitive Austrians assembled in haste from Turin and the adjacent garrisons, united themselves to about 2,000, whom the French had driven before them the day before, and took up a position at Romagno, where they intrenched themselves.

They were covered by a deep river, the bridge of which had not been cut down, owing, as it is imagined, to the contempt in which they held the invading army, from entire ignorance of its force as well as designs. They said openly among themselves that the report of Buonaparté commanding this army in person was false; that it was an adventurer, who resembled him, or it might be one of his brothers, who had put himself at the head of a collection of Italian refugees, without artillery, and without cavalry, who were throwing themselves away, to turn or divert their main operations before Genoa. One part of them boasted beside, that they only feigned to retreat, in order to draw the French into more open ground, to cut them with more ease to pieces.

The next day. General Lasnes, at the head of his advanced guard, put an end to their ridiculous stories and their vain hopes together. Romagno was carried by the bayonet; the bridge and the redoubts were soon cleared: the dead and the wounded were left on the spot, and the fugitives were again pursued in various directions. This was a dearly paid-for lesson they acquired of the bravery of those troops they had so much despised a little while before. Their cavalry, indeed, taking advantage of an open space, and a favourable *terrein*, faced about, charged the French infantry, which, from too much ardour in the pursuit, had separated; but, the 11th and 12th demi-brigades of the hussars were near at hand, united to the 16th light, to the 28th and 44th of the line, and entirely drove off the enemy towards Turin.

Buonaparté, in order the better to conceal his designs,

on the 26th of May, caused two divisions to menace Turin, whilst the advanced guard, under General Lasnes, immediately proceeded to the Chiussella and the Po, which obliged the enemy to cross the latter, where they took up a position on its right bank: thus, while the attention of the Austrians was occupied by the movements of these corps, the division of cavalry, under the orders of General Murat, took the route of Milan, and, on the 27th of May, entered Vercelli.

On the Eastern border of Piedmont, affairs were now brought precisely into that state that the Consul wished. The whole of Italy was now open to him, and he had a much shorter distance between him and Milan than his enemy had to reach him, even if he were disposed to raise the siege of Genoa to attack him.

THE END OF CHAP XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Preparations in the Var to meet General Melas....Intelligence from Massena.... An Insurrection in Corsica.... Capture of the Genereux and the Guilleaume Tell....Hopes, Pleasures, and Disappointments, of the Allies....Disposition of the French Forces.

GENERAL Melas continued to pursue the French and to advance towards the Var, in hopes of inducing the discontented Royalists of the South to raise an insurrection and employ the forces of General Suchet on that side the river: the blockade of Genoa was, in the meantime, entrusted to Generals Ott and Hohenzollern. The alarms of the French, however, hardly extended beyond Antibes; for Carnot had provided a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand troops, principally formed of conscripts newly enlisted, who were to enter the Ligurian Republic by that frontier, under the command of Generals St. Hilaire and Rochambeau. Some few sanguine spirits—half Royalists—half Jacobins, did raise the standard of insurrection, but they were instantly taken and shot; and Suchet began to prepare for shutting Melas up in Nice, at least as securely as Massena was shut up at Genoa.

The wisdom of the French Government was evinced in this instance, not only in having made all the superior generals acquainted with the great object which their efforts were to effect, but in having established the best possible communication with each, so as to give a superior degree of rapidity to all their motions. Thus Suchet, though at so great a distance from the Army of Reserve, knew all that it was doing, by the facility of telegraphic dispatches, which Government contrived to send upon all occasions where local obstructions did not interpose; and

thus Massena, who was so surrounded, both on the land and sea side, as to be exposed to all the distresses of famine, received a packet-boat, with intelligence, whenever the British cruisers were driven off the shore.

On the 6th of May General St. Hilaire wrote to Buonaparté, from his

" Head Quarters at Marseilles.

" CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

" THE news I have received from the army, dated the 3rd, informs me, that the general-in-chief, Massena, defends himself like a lion at Genoa; that the enemy dare not block him in, except by distant positions: he has made a sortie, and killed 800 Austrians and taken 1,200 prisoners.

" Five ships, laden with grain, have arrived at Genoa, and other small vessels are daily arriving. The general-in-chief has answered a flag of truce, sent by the enemy, 'That, while he has an ounce of bread to eat, or a drop of blood in his veins, he will fight; and that he will sooner bury himself in the ruins of Genoa than abandon it to the enemy!' The Ligurians perform wonders.

" Health and respect,

" ST. HILAIRE."

The spirited conduct of Massena was not merely founded upon his hopes of the First Consul being able to raise the siege by the middle of June, but that he should be sure of a supply from Corsica, that would enable him to hold out till that time.

The local situation of that island had induced the French Government to form a depôt there, with a view of keeping a small number of feluccas always loaded with provisions, ready to elude the blockade, whenever the contrary currents, and still calms might prevent Lord Keith's vessels from stretching to the Eastward. Salicette, the old friend and early patron of the Consul, was appointed to the command of Corsica, with a general's commission, and the supply of the magazine was entrusted to his administration.

Salicette soon found that he had undertaken a mission

of considerable difficulty; for the vigilance of the English prevented succours ever reaching Corsica from the coast of France; and it was known, by way of Leghorn, that Lord Keith had been informed, as early as the 24th of April, that Genoa had only fourteen days provisions in the city.

The English admiral had resolved that the blockade should not be prolonged by the number of mouths being diminished, and, therefore, dispatched a cartel to the Genoese, to acquaint them, that he had ordered all the English commanders to seize any vessels that should attempt to bring fugitives out of the city; thus making the egress of a neutral vessel an act of hostility, if it should have a single individual on board more than might be named on its own muster-roll.

Urgency compelled Salicette to collect all the provisions that Corsica itself possessed for the national magazines; and, in his zeal, he did not bear in mind, that the island had already been exhausted, to supply Malta with all that could be spared, to enable that fortress also to resist an English blockade: he, therefore excited the apprehensions of the inhabitants, who feared that they should see all their food transported, to feed others, and be reduced to starvation themselves.

An insurrection was the consequence, and General Salicette was obliged to put himself at the head of his troops. The Corsicans got the advantage in several skirmishes; and, instead of being able to supply Massena, our commissary-general was obliged to write to that commander for a reinforcement, to deliver him out of Bastia, where he had been obliged to shut himself up.

The English took a felucca, which had a courier on board with dispatches from General Massena, stating, that the Austrians and English kept him shut up so close that he was destitute of succours for himself. The two generals were now so completely cut off from each other

that the Corsicans were left to eat their own provisions in quiet, and order was restored in the island.

Things were all going on as prosperously in the Mediterranean and its neighbourhood as the Allies could desire.

The fortress of *La Valette*, in the Island of Malta, still held out, and the French, occasionally, got in a small vessel with provisions; but it was clear that it would not be able to hold out long; for a communication had taken place between Lord Nelson, the British admiral, and the commandant, which had given the latter a clearer insight into his real situation. His Lordship urged the impropriety of sustaining so long a siege, and suffering so many miseries, after it was proved to be impossible that any further succour could enter the port of Malta; assuring him, that a fleet of ships, lately sent from France, had all been either taken or sunk.

The Commandant, who doubted the intelligence, was permitted to send some of his officers to Syracuse to inspect the captured vessels, among which was the Genereux, of 74 guns, Admiral Perrée, who had been so fortunate as to escape from Egypt and get appointed Commander-in-chief of the French force in the Mediterranean.

The confirmation of this disastrous intelligence, had obliged another French man of war to put herself to the hazard of being taken, and the English had captured her also. It will be recollected, that, after the defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson, at the mouth of the Nile, and whilst the shattered wrecks were yet blazing on the furface of the ocean, two men of war set sail and made their escape. These two ships were the Genereux of 74 guns, and the Guillaume Tell of 86, the latter of which got safe into the port of Malta, and had continued there ever since, partly with a view to shelter herself from the English, and partly with a view to assist in the defence of the place. The almost certainty of not being able to re-victual the place, rendered it indispensible that she

should no longer exhaust the provisions; and, therefore, it was determined that she should take 1,000 men on board, and endeavour to save himself under the command of Admiral Decres. She did so, and was met immediately by the English ships, Foudroyant, Lion, and Penelope, with whom she fought gallantly for three hours and a half, and then struck to the Lion, Captain Manly Dixon.

These occurrences forming a kind of auxilliaries to the successes of General Melas among the Maritime Alps, the Allies, and their agents, began to be as merry as if they had already gathered all the laurels of the war. Mr. Jackson, the British minister at Turin, does not appear to have been more enthusiastic than any of his friends upon the occasion; and, therefore, his letter to Lord Grenville, the then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, will serve to shew what were the feelings of them all:

"My Lord,

"It is with *infinite satisfaction* that I can inform your Lordship of the entire evacuation of the Riviere of Genoa, and the country of Nice, by the French troops under Suchet, the remains of which have passed the Var. Nice, with its *two castles*, was yesterday occupied by the Imperial troops, under the orders of General Knesewich.

"General Kaim, the commander-in-chief here, has this moment, sent intelligence to the Government of this *joyful* event. I have the honour to be,

"T. Jackson."

"Turin, May 12th, 1800."

At the very moment when this Letter was being written at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, Buonaparté was on the border of the principality, contriving his new ammunition machinery and preparing to enter it; and, in four days afterwards, his advanced guard was in the next town to Mr. Jackson! It was now time to send news to General Melas:—tidings from him could afford no more pleasure. The triumph, in this instance, was of such a short duration, and the joy so momentary, that, when Mr. Jackson's Letter was made public in England, the same

journals that communicated it to their readers gave them also an account, upon the same sheet, of General Melas having discovered his mistake in advancing upon Nice, and of his having gone back a great deal faster than he came.

A Letter from Antibes, dated May 15th, stated the fact as follows: "The Austrians have retreated from Nice; they entered on the 11th at three in the afternoon, our troops having retreated within the antient French limit. On the 14th, General Melas arrived with ten or twelve thousand troops: we expected to be attacked, and were under arms all night; but, to our great astonishment, at day-break, we beheld the Austrian columns defiling across the mountains towards Coni. This precipitate retreat could only be occasioned by intelligence received of the movement of our Army of Reserve in Piedmont."

A small garrison was left behind at Nice, and, indeed, there were so many garrisons occupied by the Austrians throughout Italy, that small draughts being made from each, a few corps were formed between Turin and Alexandria, about the 20th of the month, which encouraged General Melas to fix his head-quarters there, and to make an appearance of being determined to maintain his post.

Orders were given to General Ott to push the siege of Genoa with vigour; and the English, in order to keep Suchet from crossing the Var, appeared off the coast between Marseilles and Toulon, and evinced a disposition to effect a landing.

Whilst the confusion, that marked all the operations of the Austrians, was too evident to escape the notice of the least attentive, the concert that gave effect to every measure of the French, was equally apparent. The troops dispatched by General Moreau to join the Consul, timed their march so, that they were at Altorf, near St. Gothard, on the same day that the Army of Reserve arrived

at Ivrea, which prevented the Austrian General, Davidovich, from crossing the Semplon, to unite with the Austrians in Milan.

General Mouncey, who commanded this force, pushed on his advanced guard by St. Gothard into the Italian Bailiwicks, under General Lepoype, and General Lorge's division drove the Austrians from Aviola, whilst he himself issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Bellinzona and Lagano, denouncing severe punishments against any persons who should quit their customary labours; designing, no doubt, to prevent a repetition of those insurrections from which the French suffered so much the preceding year, when they were pursued through the same country by Suwarrow.

After passing St. Gothard, on the 26th of May, General Mouncey engaged the Austrian General Davidovich, and drove him to the Lago-Maggiore, advancing with the utmost rapidity upon Domo d'Osella.

All the movements of the French, hitherto, may be considered as preparations for collecting a force together, that it might be ready for action: that end was now accomplished, and the principal concern of Buonaparté, in consequence, was, to continue that deception, which had already misled the Austrians as to his real object, and, by distracting their attention, to weaken their power.

It will be recollected, that, whilst General Lasnes was at Remagno, and General Murat at Vercelli, the Austrians had taken a position on the right bank of the Po, apparently with a design of disputing the ground between that river and Milan.

It was of much consequence to Buonaparté that those forces should not accumulate; for a spirited resistance on the part of the Austrians at Milan would have afforded General Davidovich an opportunity of feeding the garrison with fresh supplies of troops, by way of the Grisons and the Valtelline, and have kept the French army at bay till the scattered resources of Melas had been collected

together. General Turreau was, therefore, ordered to proceed to Susa and the Brunette, on the West of the Doria, which could not fail to alarm Turin. The heights at the post of Gravieres were planted with cannon, and surrounded with intrenchments; the adjutant-general Liaban marched, with 950 light infantry, to carry the works by assault, whilst General Turreau, with three companies of carabineers, four of grenadiers, one howitzer, and an eight-pounder, supported the attack. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and the victory continued long doubtful. During the action 100 pioneers arrived, to aid the French, at length they succeeded in turning the fort of St. Francis, which gave them a great advantage over the enemy, and compelled him to capitulate. In this engagement, General Turreau took 1,500 prisoners and 800 muskets, beside a great quantity of provisions and ammunition; and, what was more important, got command of the whole country from Mount Cenis to Turin.

General Lasne's corps continued its march Southward towards the Po, as if with a design to take up a position at Asti: and the Austrians concluded, from these movements, that the Consul was about to take the most suitable stations for intercepting the troops and supplies coming from Nice to Turin.

Those who recollect the strenuous exertions of General Suwarrow, and the Austrians under his command, in the preceding campaign, to get possession of Genoa, when they were gallantly resisted by Moreau upon this very spot, will not be surprised that General Melas suspected Buonaparté of an intention to proceed that way, for the purpose of raising the siege; and if the Consul received credit for the wisdom of his plan, it will not be at the expense of his antagonist's reputation.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Austrians evacuate Novarra....The French advance to the Tessino....Passage of the River....Attempt of General Laudon to stop the Progress of the French....Capture of Milan....Reception of the Consul by the Milanese.... Observations on the City....A provisionary Government appointed....The Army distributed in several Directions.... Captures....Skirmishes....Preparations for passing the Po.... Battles of Stradella and Montebello,...Genoa taken by the Austrians....Capitulation signed by Ott, Keith, and Massena.

IN consequence of supposing that Buonaparté intended to proceed Southward immediately, the Austrians gave orders for the evacuation of Novarra, a place of so much importance, that, when General Suwarrow entered Italy, he sent his advanced guard forward from Pavia to take possession of it; and which, circumstanced as the French were at the time we are treating, was the only fortress between them and Milan.

The clashing of councils did as much for the French as the success of their arms. They had determined to take the precise route that the enemy was leaving open to them; and if the generals had the misfortune to err in their judgments, the soldiers had the consolation of saving their lives.

The French head-quarters were advanced to Vercelli, General Lasne continued a day at Chivasso, (or Chirasco) manœuvring upon the Po, and collecting boats, as if to cross the river. Here the Austrian infantry collected, to oppose the passage, but at night General Lasne filed off for Vercelli.

Whilst General Lasne was practising his *ruse de guerre* at Chivasso, the rest of the French army was coming up

to head quarters, and different corps were engaged in dislodging the enemy from the fastnesses in the vicinity of the Sessia and Tessino. The Italian legion, commaded by General Lechi, advanced to Riva, and encountered a considerable body of the enemy at Capello, whom they dislodged, and then proceeded to Varello. At this latter place they found the legion of Rohan, 600 strong, occupying a position strongly intrenched, and defended with cannon. General Lechi's corps fought with great bravery, and, after suffering considerable loss in killed and wounded, took 350 prisoners from the enemy, beside cannon and ammunition. Having chaced the Austrians from the banks of the Sessia, the Italian corps proceeded down the river and also joined the army.

General Murat had only staid long enough at Vercelli to construct a bridge upon the Sessia, in lieu of one which the Austrians had burnt, and then pushed on to Novarra, which he reached within a few hours after the enemy had evacuated it. They took possession of that place and left it at midnight, as many divisions had already advanced, and attended with the utmost impatience upon the banks of the Tessino, waiting for the signal to cross it. General Murat's object was to persuade the Austrians that he should cross at Voltegio. The rapidity of the river had destroyed the bridge of boats; and the misfortune was increased by their being without the means of constructing another. These were obstacles sufficient to have stopped the progress of any other than a French army. A few crazy wherries or barges, were collected, in which soldiers embarked, and shovels served for oars. Some carabineers of the 6th light infantry, darted forward, under the protection of a well-directed fire of musketry, and a few pices of cannon; the grenadiers of the 28th followed, and the opposite bank was presently cleared of the enemy. As they had less infantry than cavalry, they were obliged to quit the marshes,

as also some osier fields, and a little wood, which had incommoded them more than it had protected them.

Buffarolo was the principle point against which the chief efforts were directed; the passage was effected a league lower, on the Tessino. The French troops menaced the Austrians with taking them in the rear: finding themselves exposed to this danger, they thought it prudent to retire; on which General Duhesme pursued them with eagerness into the village of Turbigo, the main street of which was sufficiently large to allow the cavalry to act with good effect. At this precise moment, the Austrian general Laudon, who had just returned from Genoa, being either apprised of their weakness, or desirous of learning their strength, led on, at full gallop, for more than six miles, two cavalry divisions of Buffy's legion; and then, falling upon the French grenadiers, re-possessed himself of the village, and made about fifty or sixty prisoners; the remainder of the French force, under General Mounier, rallied without loss of time at the entrance of the marsh, and stopped his further progress. The Austrian general retreated precipitately, after losing 200 killed and 400 taken prisoners.

General Murat learned that the enemy had concealed some boats in a small arm of the Tessino, at Galeate, and ordered some artillery, cavalry, and the 70th demi-brigade, to repair to that place. On the 31st of May, it was attacked, and the Austrians defended it with two howitzers, three eleven-pounders, and a constant fire of grape. The demi-brigade effected the object of the attack, by getting possession of the boats, which they carried over to the other arm of the river upon their shoulders.

The enemy had brought some artillery to the bank of the river, and the grenadiers got possession of a woody isle, by wading up to the middle in water, from whence, by an advantageous fire, they obliged the artillery to withdraw.

Buonaparté arrived on the 31st of May, at the bank of

the Tessino, and made a very military shew of cavalry, with which, and some pieces of cannon, he reached the opposite side on the same evening. Some of the villagers had brought a few boats by this time, and the troops passed over in great numbers. General Mounier possessed himself of an advantageous position along the Grand Naviglio; and the enemy fell back on the village of Turbigo. The cavalry was disposed of in a manner to harras the Austrians from the lake of Como to Vegevano.

The road to Milan was perfectly open to General Murat, after the retreat of Laudon; and the Chief Consul, with the whole of the staff, followed close upon his division. The account of the battle of Marengo, said to be translated from the French of Monsieur Petit, horse grenadier in the Consular guard, states, that the Austrians "hesitated whether they should defend the place, in the hope of receiving succours, or shut themselves up in the citadel; and that a tremendous storm of rain falling, which soaked every man to the skin; during the moment of their indecision, the Consul and his staff, were obliged to take shelter in a small farm by the road side." However either of these anecdotes may accord with the usual spirit and prowes of the respective parties, it is certain that no resistance was made to the entrance of the French into the city, for its defenders did shut themselves up in the citadel, and it was invested by General Murat immediately.

The magistracy waited upon the Consul with the keys, and the most respectable people of the city, accompanied by a brilliant and elegant assemblage of ladies, attended to greet him on his arrival, whilst the populace followed, and all joined in the enthusiastic cry of *Vive Buonaparté! vivent les François!* The nearer they approached to the town the greater was the crowd. At length they arrived within the gates of this distinguished capital of the Milanese. The windows lined with beautiful Italian women, the rich shops suffered to remain open, testified, in the

strongest manner, how great was the confidence of the people in the French army: in fact, the Italians were very numerous who favoured the French; and the Austrians and Russians rendered themselves particulary odious in this city, by the severities they had inflicted for political opinions.

The pride of the conquerors was highly gratified by the fine *coup-d'œil*, presented to them the moment they had reached the Place du Dôme; and here the Hero who had led them on enjoyed the sublime trait which the gratitude of a numerous people exhibited. The vast space was made to ring with the reiterated shouts of *Vive General Buonaparté! vive l'Armée Françoise!* These acclamations penetrated their very souls and inspired them with new courage.

General Murat, with his division of cavalry and the infantry of the advanced guard, surrounded the citadel, in which four thousand of the enemy were besieged.

After these precautions the Consul betook himself to the palace of the Archduke, in the great square; which was found so destitute as not to afford a single faggot of wood to dry his clothes by!

Every where the national cockade had been substituted for the Austrian. Three thousand sick and wounded were in the hospitals, among whom were several Frenchmen. A great number of Cisalpine refugees entered with the French, who had been told a fortnight before of the certainty of this capture. A circumstance, which the friends of peaceful science will rejoice to learn, is, that this entry into Milan gave liberty to the great Fontana, who had groaned under a weight of chains for having been guilty of the crime of filling a place in the Republic!

A few particulars of Milan, even at the hazard of a digression, to a military reader, may, in a certain degree, possess or excite some new interest.

The chief strength of this celebrated city, built by the Gauls in the 395th year of Rome, is a wall and rampart,

as also a citadel, consisting of six bastions. It has been besieged forty times, taken twenty, and four times almost totally demolished; and, notwithstanding these and other calamities, it survives and flourishes! There is a little hill near the town, called The Bochetta, which commands every part of the surrounding country and the greatest part of the interior and exterior works. This place is not commanded on any side, it is well fortified and well kept up; yet, for all this, it cannot stand above eight days of open trenches, because it is closely shut up, and nothing prevents the trenches from being opened by an enemy so as to batter in breach with advantage.

The town is beautiful and large, being nearly ten miles in circumference; and the Italians have a proverb, "Milan the Great." The streets are wide: its churches, and, above all, its cathedral, may be said to deserve the highest admiration. The palace, the park, the playhouses, all serve to embellish this capital. The chief theatre is of such magnitude as to admit four hundred performers to appear at once, besides forty horses! who sometimes go through the most surprising evolutions: the immense number of spectators it will contain may, therefore, be conceived, by the above facts. The shops are decorated nearly after the manner of the French, nor are the dresses of the inhabitants very different. Every thing to be seen in Milan gives a great idea of its splendor: it might be imagined that the scourge of war had made much deeper wounds in this place than it has.

The Milanese, at least those of the city, are very sociable, and even friendly, to the French: they have fewer faults than may be charged upon the Italians in general, or even upon the inhabitants of the environs. The free exercise of religion, which they openly professed, and the respect that the French shewed for their customs on that head, astonished them, after the abuse which had been circulated concerning them as atheists, &c. The French took their revenge upon the Allies, by charging them also

with ungodliness, and a *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in the cathedral, for the deliverance of Italy from heretics and infidels.

Among the riches which ornament the cathedral may be seen several lamps, of pure gold and silver, as also two pulpits of massy silver. Behind the choir is a statue, as large as life, representing the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew: strangers never fail to examine this exquisite figure of the Saint, stripped of his skin, which he carries on his left arm, and which exposes to view, as in a body after dissection, all the muscles and fibres which compose the human frame. The church, the metropolitan of Milan, is one of the most celebrated in all Italy, after St. Peter's at Rome. This edifice, of Gothic architecture, astonishes at once by the vastness of the undertaking and the immensity of labour expended in it. The choir is nearly five hundred and fifty English feet long and two hundred and ten broad: it is supported by two hundred columns of marble, and divided into three large naves, besides the aisles. But that which surprises the most is the work of the outside; the quantity of niches, and the countless number of marble statues, of every size, with which the walls are charged, from the bottom to the top! One may consider the design of this church as the height of folly in Gothic architecture; and, perhaps, there exists nowhere else in the world a building so loaded with useless ornament.

The stranger can hardly express the satisfaction he experiences at the view of the immense space, which presents itself to his enchanted eyes, from the lofty piles of this city: thence he can contemplate the Alps, which are discoverable along their whole extent; among which are easily distinguished the Coldi-Tende, Mount Blanc, (whose majestic summit seems to sustain the sky) Mount Cenis; Mount Genievre; the Simplon; St. Gothard; and the Great St. Bernard, which has borne on its lofty front an Hannibal and a Buonaparté! The Grisons are also be-

held, and, as through a thick cloud, the defiles of the Tyrol. Nearer, in the foreground, may be discovered, without difficulty, the whole of Piedmont and a large part of Liguria. What cities, what towns, what villages, what myriads of scattered inhabitants, appeared in one view, to recal the recollection of the adventurous French to great events, to a multitude of battles won and lost, to their own unprecedented victories in a former campaign; and to the penetration of that Genius, which, even under the Alps, had measured out the time he wanted to possess this spot!

Having staid seven days in Milan, where pleasures of every kind were within reach of all those who had the means of purchasing them, and thereby indemnifying themselves for their past interruptions, the whole army had recovered from its fatigues: there was no fear of Milan becoming a Capua to the French soldiers under the command of General Buonaparté. The distribution of the ratios was good and regular, and the army could not have wished for better quarters: they were contented with what fell to their lot, being more covetous of glory than pleasure.

The Consul having arranged the provisionary government and ordered the following Proclamations, prepared for his departure.

THE FIRST CONSUL TO THE ARMY.

"Milan, June 6.

"SOLDIERS!

"ONE of our departments was in the power of the enemy; consternation was in the South of France! The greatest part of the territory of the Ligurian people, the most faithful friends of the Republic, was invaded: the Cisalpine Republic, annihilated since the last campaign, was become the sport of the absurd feudal regime.

"Soldiers! you march, and already the French territory is delivered! joy and hope succeed in our country to consternation and fear. You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa: it shall be delivered from its eternal enemies for ever. You are in the capital of the Cisalpines.

"The alarmed enemy hopes now but to regain the frontiers: you

have deprived him of his hospitals, of his magazines, of his parks of reserve. The first act of the campaign is over.

"You will, every day, hear millions of men address expressions of gratitude to you.

"Shall they, then, have violated the French territory with impunity? will you, then, suffer the army which has carried alarm into your families to return to its habitations? You will run to arms: well, march to meet it; oppose its retreat; snatch from it the laurels which it has seized, and teach the whole world, that a curse awaits those madmen who dare to insult the territory of the Great People! The result of all our efforts will be glory unclouded and solid peace.

(Signed) The First Consul, "BUONAPARTE."

PROCLAMATION

Of the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT of MILAN.

"THE provisional Administration of this city has the satisfaction to manifest to their dear fellow citizens the generous sentiments of the First Consul of the first nation, the invincible nation! They are authorised to publish the following Articles, which are to be invariably observed:

1. "The Cisalpine Republic is re-organised as a free and independent nation.

2. "The free and public exercise of the Catholic religion shall be preserved in the same state as at the epoch of the first conquest of Italy. In consequence, all kinds of outrage or insult on the said religion, its ministers, rites, and symbols, is prohibited, as well as every act which might tend to prevent or trouble, in any manner whatever, the full and free exercise of it. Infractions of the present prohibition shall be punished with the most rigorous penalties, even with capital punishment, upon the decision of the competent authorities.

3. "The property of all citizens, without distinction, shall be respected.

4. "It is forbidden to make use of any denominations calculated to recal party divisions and sentiments.

"Under the happy circumstances in which these regulating maxims are proclaimed, the Administration could not see without pain, that several persons have abandoned their country; in consequence, and by the express order of the First Consul, the absent citizens are invited to return to their houses as speedily as the distance in which they are, at the publication of the present Decree, shall permit them. Those are formally excepted, who, having taken arms against the Cisalpine Republic after the treaty of Campo Formio, ought to be considered as traitors to their country.

5. "All laws promulgated since the day of the invasion of the

Austrian troops to the return of the French armies, being to be considered as null, and given without legal authority, in a state recognised as free and independent by the major part of the powers of Europe, and by the Emperor himself, in the said treaty of Campo Formio; all sequestrations are taken off, whether placed upon property possessed either under the title of ancient property or in virtue of legal acquisition, under whatever pretext, and upon whatever occasion the said sequestrations may have been ordered.

6. "The circulation of the *cedules* of the bank of Vienna is forbidden: in consequence, they shall neither have currency in private transactions nor be received in the public treasury.

"The provisional administration is pursuaded that all the inhabitants of the Cisalpine Republic will judge by these preliminary dispositions that the French armies, and the Hero who leads them, have no other object than to bring back freedom and independence to their country. Animated with the justest gratitude, they ought to be eager to concur with all their means to the success of the arms of their deliverers and to the return of a peace, which, after liberty has been reconquered, is the sole good to be desired.

(Signed) "MARRDANI, SACCHI, GOFFREDO,
"the provisional Administration."

"Milan, at the *Commune Maison*, June 4, 1800."

Several divisions of the army marched off in different directions: whilst the division of Loison took the road to Lodi, the Cisalpine legion marched upon Brescia, to have an eye upon that beautiful country, which had changed its masters seven times in twenty-eight years! and General Duhesme took possession of Pizzighitone.

General Lasne, always in the advanced guard, took possession of Pavia on the 5th of June, where he found considerable magazines of provisions, near 100 millers of powder, 500 pieces of cannon on carriages, and an equal proportion of ball; besides the powder magazines, 800 sick and wounded Austrians, 5,000 coats, and 10,000 muskets.

The city of Pavia, once the capital of Lombardy, was founded by the Gauls, but was afterwards taken by the Romans, who, in their turn, were driven out by the Goths, in the 5th century. About 1477, the town being little

better than a mass of ruins, was re-built, when it changed its name of Tesinum for that of Pavia.

On the 5th General Murat proceeded towards Placentia, where it was expected the Austrians would hazard a battle. The *tête-du-pont* was well defended by a great quantity of artillery till eleven at night, when the French got possession of it and took a picquet of 100 men, who defended the passage. The Austrians were commanded by General O'Reilly, whose pincipal attention was directed to the defence of the bridges across the Po: but on the 6th, in the morning General Lasne made a cannonade on the Po, near to Placentia, which attracted the attention of the enemy, whilst his division crossed the river at the village of Belgioza, just below Pavia, where the Tessino and the Po unite. In the interim Murat blockaded the citadel; and General O'Reilly, seeing the possibility of his retreat being cut off, endeavoured to fall back upon the famous post of Stradell, which General Lasne had got possession of before him, and had thus intercepted the only road of communication between the garrison of Placentia and the Austrian army.

The Austrian general united all the scattered forces he could bring together and attacked General Lasne with the greatest impetuosity: his forces were routed and he was obliged to retreat to Placentia, after the loss of 300 taken prisoners and 260 killed, beside some cannon.

The grenadiers and carabineers contended with impatience for the honour of passing the Po the first; the battalions were also as eager. The enemy appeared to despise their hardihood, by allowing them leisure to disembark. But as two flying bridges were established across the river, the numbers that landed encreased every moment, and this raised their intrepidity higher and higher. No sooner had all the advanced guard crossed, than the French attacked the Austrians with a kind of fury, who, nevertheless, stood the shock with firmness.

At length Lasne ordered *the charge:* his *sang-froid*

redoubled the efforts of his troops. The 6th light, the 28th of the line, and 44th, precipitated on the enemy with advanced bayonets, driving them into the swamps, and followed them as far as the village of Pizzo, upon the road from Placentia to Tortona. Prudence restrained their impetuous valour from further pursuit. Night came on, and every one passed it, in hopes of finishing the work next day.

This moment of awful suspense was spent in preparations on both sides, and it was somewhat unfortunate for the French, that the heavy rains swelled the Po so much as greatly to retard their operations; yet, the sun had scarcely risen above the horizon, when the advanced posts began to be in motion. The cannon of Melas played, and the several battalions took their respective directions. The French light artillery and that of the Consular guard returned their fire. Montebello became the theatre of a most sanguinary combat, and was taken and retaken several times, as the eagerness was as great on one side as the other, and the number was nearly equal.

The French advanced guard, about 6,000 infantry, and 400 cavalry, alone sustained the brunt of the action for some time, but the division of Watrin was approaching, having effected its passage. During this interval, six of the Austrian battalions, and several squadrons of fresh troops, bore hard upon the advanced guard; their numerous cavalry too, profiting by the advantages of an open meadow, charged the 11th and 12th hussars; this onset was terrible, and the carnage frightful: the Austrians had the advantage for two hours.

The standing corn, and especially the rye, with its lofty straw, hindered the respective armies from distinguishing each other clearly. They ran upon one another, without knowing what force they were contending with: the bayonets crossed each other, dealing out certain death on all sides. An impetuous courage prevailed, and the Austrians gave way, making precipitately for Voghera.

Six thousand prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon, were the reward of this victory. Several generals, and officers of distinction, in the Austrian army, were among the killed and wounded; and the ground was covered with the slain and the dying. Finally, General Watrin came up, and, in an instant, completed the victory: all the different corps received the same impulsion, as it were, simultaneously, and bore on the enemy, who hesitated, staggered, and soon after retired like a ruined embankment, swept away by an overwhelming torrent.

It was understood at the French head-quarters, on the 7th of June, that Melas had no resource but a battle, as his communication was as completely cut off with his forces in Italy, as Macdonald had been cut off from Moreau, about the same season the year before. Great diligence was, therefore, exerted to preserve the position at Stradella, and the corps of General Victor, with the cavalry of Generals Mounier and Gardanne, were ordered to the Po, to unite with the forces already there.

The advanced posts of General Ott were at Montebello, and Voghera, and the fate of Genoa now began to excite a most lively interest. A single victory, and the enemy would be shut up in the fortresses of Alexandria and Tortona: even Bobbio would no longer afford them the chance of retreat; and the army would itself carry succours to the gallant Massena.

The joys of victory were greatly diminished by the painful intelligence the French received from their prisoners, and by intercepting the dispatches of Melas, that the brave Massena, reduced to the last extremity, had been obliged to surrender at the moment when orders had been sent General Ott to raise the siege. Genoa had fallen! the prize for which they had fought was in the hands of the enemy. The misfortune seemed full of real calamity at first view: but a dispatch from General Massena soon dispelled the gloom, when it appeared that the terms of capitulation were among the most honourable that ever were obtained.

ARMY OF ITALY.

" *MASSENA, General-in-Chief, to the CONSULS of the FRENCH REPUBLIC.*

" Head Quarters at Genoa, 7th June.

" CITIZEN CONSULS,

" I HAVE the honour to present to you the convention for the evacuation of the city of Genoa, by the right wing of the French army.

" Since the 15th Germinal, (April 5th,) we have received no succours, either from France or Corsica.

" Since the 1st of this month, (May 21st,) the people of Genoa have been without bread. The army have received only six ounces of bread, composed of a mixture half bran and half maize; during the last ten days the maize has been replaced by cocoa, and the ratios reduced to three ounces. The greatest part of the horses have been eaten.

" The convention which I address you were signed at eight in the evening.

" On the 16th the troops of the right wing began their march, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to rejoin the centre of the army, which was at Alassio on the 17th. To-morrow I repair to it myself.

" I shall have the honour of making you a report of the events which have taken place from the 15th Germinal to the 16th Prarial, the day of evacuation.

" Health and respect, MASSENA."

P. S. This will be delivered to you, with eight colours, taken from the enemy, by one of my aids-du-camp.

SURRENDER OF GENOA.

" *Negociation for the evacuation of GENOA, by the right wing of the French army, between Vice Admiral Lord KEITH, Commander-in-chief of the English fleet; Lieutenant General Baron OTT, Commander of the blockade; and the French General-in-chief MASSENA.*

ART. 1. " The right wing of the French army charged with the defence of Genoa, the general-in-chief, and his Staff, shall march out, with arms and baggage, to rejoin the centre of the army,"—Ans. The right wing, charged with the defence of Genoa, shall march out, to the number of 8,110 men, and shall take the route, by Nice, to France: the rest shall be transported by sea to Antibes. Admiral Keith engages to furnish this troop with the quantity of biscuit allowed the English troops. On the other side, all the Austrian prisoners made in the Riviera of Genoa, by the army of Massena, in the present year, shall be restored in compensation, except

those who are already exchanged at the present time. Moreover, the first article shall be punctually executed.

2. " All which belongs to the right wing, as artillery and ammunition of all kinds, shall be transported by the English fleet to Antibes, or the Gulph of Jouan —Ans. Agreed to.

3. " The convalescents, and those who are not in a condition to march, shall be transported by sea to the Antibes, and taken care of, as mentioned in the first article.—Ans. They shall be transported by the English fleet, and taken care of.

4. " The French soldiers remaining in the hospitals of Genoa shall be treated on a footing with the Austrians; and, when they are in a condition to depart, shall be transported as mentioned in the first article—Ans. Agreed to.

5. " The city of Genoa, as well as the port, shall be declared neutral: the line to determine the neutrality, shall be fixed mutually by the contracting parties.—Ans. This article turning on considerations purely political, it is not in the power of the general of the Allied Army to give any decided answer to it. In the mean time, the undersigned are authorised to declare, that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor, is determined to grant his protection to the inhabitants of Genoa. The city of Genoa may be assured, that all the provisionary establishments that circumstances may require, shall be subservient to public tranquillity and happiness.

6. The independence of the Ligurian People shall be respected. No power at war with the Ligurian Republic shall create any change in its form of government—Ans. The same as the preceding article.

7. " No Ligurian having exercised, or exercising yet any public functions, shall be persecuted for his political opinion.—Ans. No person shall be molested for his opinions, nor for having taken part in the government previous to this time. The disturbers of the public repose, after the entry of the Austrians into Genoa, shall be punished conformably to the laws.

8. " It shall be allowed to the French, Genoese, and Italians, domiciliated or fled to Genoa, to retire with whatever may belong to them, whether money, moveables, or any other effects, to whatever place they shall think proper, either by sea or land: passports to this effect shall be delivered to them, which shall be valid for six month.—Ans. Granted.

[Articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, relate to the victualling of Genoa, commerce, movements respecting the evacuation by the French troops, safe conduct, &c. of the wounded.]

16. " The officers, of all ranks, in the army of the General-in-chief Massena, made prisoners of war since the commencement of hostilities by the present army, shall return to France upon their parole, and shall not serve till after they are exchanged."

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

"THE port of Lanterne, so far as the drawbridge, and the entry at the gate, shall be surrendered to a detachment of Austrian troops, and two English vessels, to-day, the 4th of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"Immediately after the signing of the Articles, hostages shall be given on either side.

"The artillery, ammunition, and other military effects belonging to the city of Genoa, and its territory, shall be faithfully given up by the French commissaries to the Allied Armies.

"Done on the bridge of Cornegliano, 5th June, 1800.

(Signed) "Baron D'OTT. Lieut. General.
"KEITH, Vice Admiral.
"MASSENA."

This capture, from which so much had been expected, and which had cost the Allies so many thousands of lives and so much treasure, hardly afforded them a triumph of twenty-four hours; as General Suchet was advancing rapidly in the country of Nice, and, in several contests with the advanced guard of Ott, under the command of General Elnitz, had taken, between the 20th of May and the 6th of June, 7,000 prisoners and 30 pieces of cannon!

The French papers charged Lord Keith with refusing to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, upon the ground, that the artillery found in the city ought to be given up by the French to the Allies, and that 119 vessels, found by him in the harbour, had entered the port after it was in a state of blockade. The English writers have not given information enough upon the subject to determine its truth or falsehood: but their silence is of the less consequence, as the armies had taken such stations as to place the final issue of the contest upon the event of a single battle.

THE END OF VOL. III.

2

General Bernadotte,
now
Duke of Ponte Corvo, &c.

Pub. by M. Jones, July 1806.

Sir Wm. Sidney Smith, Knt. K.C.

Pub. by Jones & Bumford. 1808.

Alexander. I.
Emperor of Russia.

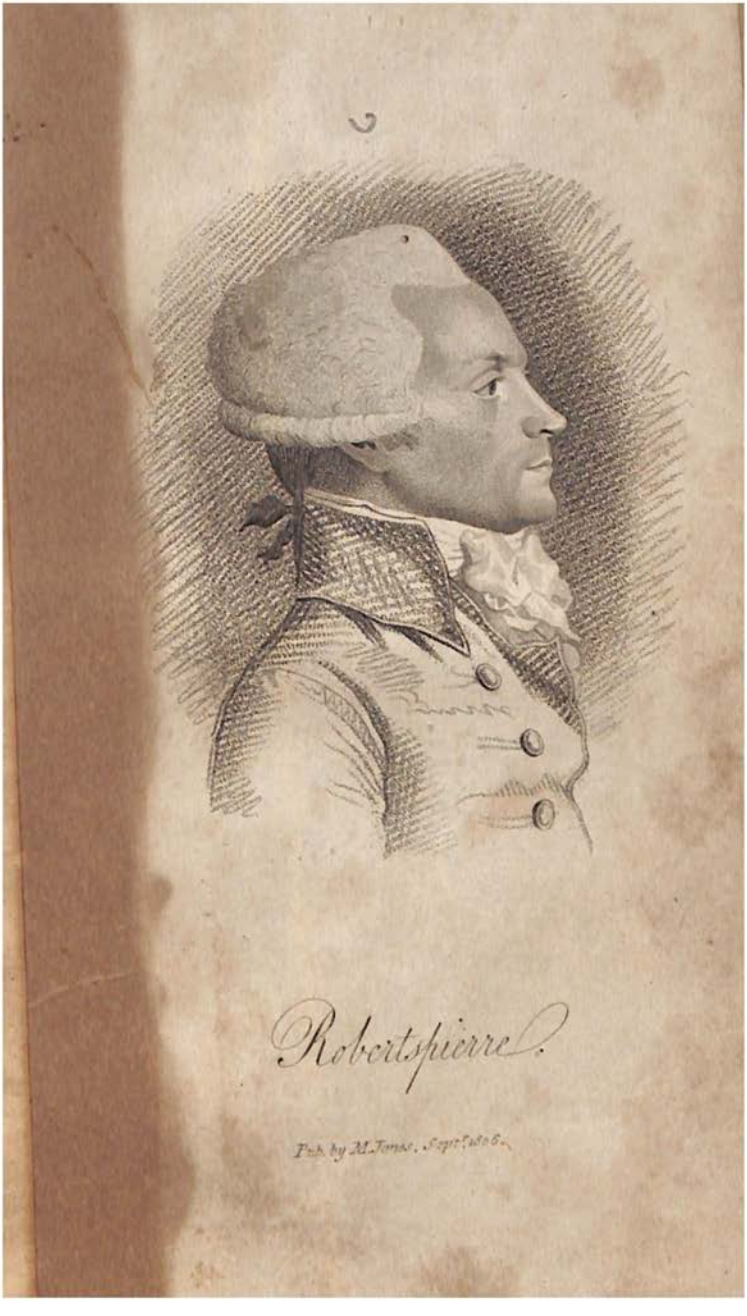
Pub. by Jones & Bunford Nov. 1807.

Elphi Bey.

Pub. by Jones & Burnford 1810.

General Fayette.

Pub. by M. Jones. Aug. 2806.



Robertspierre.

Pub. by M. Jones, Sept.r 1806.

General Brune.

Pub.by M.Jones June 1807.

F. A. F. De La Rochefoucauld.
Duke De Liancourt.

Pub.d by M.Jones Sept.10-1806.

J. M. Roland.

Pub. by M. Jones. Oct. 6. 1796.

General Regnier

Pub. by M. Jones, Dec. 1, 1806.

12

General St. Cyr.

Pub. by M. Jones, Dec. 17-1806.

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